Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi
Fasc. V

SECRETUM SECRETORUM
CUM GLOSSIS ET NOTULIS

TRACTATUS BREVIS ET UTILIS
AD DECLARANDUM QUEDAM OBSCURE DICTA

FRATRIS ROGERI

NUNC PRIMUM EDIDIT
ROBERT STEELE

ACCEDUNT
VERSIO ANGLICANA EX ARABICO EDITA PER
A. S. FULTON

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PREFACE

THE issue of this series has been interrupted by the war, and this volume has been interpolated, for several reasons, somewhat out of its proper place in the order of Bacon's unpublished work, partly out of a consideration of the great importance of the text on which he comments, and partly on account of its influence on his whole work. Mediaeval students will be glad to learn that the publication of the whole of Bacon's work now seems assured.

As before, I have to acknowledge the ready assistance of mediaeval scholars, among them Prof. A. G. Little, Mr. J. P. Gilson, Dr. Cowley, Dr. Henry Bradley, the Librarian of the Grand-Ducal Library of Saxe-Gotha, who forwarded for study two Arabic MSS. of the *Secretum Secretorum*, happily returned to him in safety, Mrs. Henry Dakyns, who many years ago copied out and prepared the text of *Le Secre de Secrez* with a view to joint publication elsewhere, to the Committee of the Bacon Commemoration of 1914, who have materially assisted in the preparation of this volume, and to others named in the Introduction.

ROBERT STEELE.

SAVAGE CLUB, W.C.

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INTRODUCTION

The text of the *Secretum Secretorum*, which is here printed as edited by Roger Bacon with his introductory treatise and glosses, is taken from a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bodleian Library from which all other existing copies of his edition appear to have been derived. To complete the work and make it more generally useful to students of mediaeval literature, certain passages unknown to Bacon, but inserted by Achillini in his edition of 1501 from a Hebrew version of the Western recension, have been added, together with a literal translation of the original Arabic made under my supervision by Mr. Ismail Ali and edited by Mr. Fulton, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum, who is preparing an edition of the Arabic text. This rendering will serve as a key to the Latin, and at the same time will show the remarkable accuracy of the original translation and the variation it has undergone.

The MS. (Tanner 116) is an English manuscript, which at one time belonged to Archbishop Sancroft. It is described in Hackman's Catalogue thus: 'Codex membranaceus in folio minore, ff. 111, sec. XIII exeuntis; binis columnis, haud eadem manu exaratus; olim peculium Jacobi Windet, ex dono Jacobi Everitti Antverpiensis.' It contains (1) R. B. tractatus ad declaranda quedam obscure dicta in libro Secreti Secretorum Aristotelis (here printed, pp. 1–24). (2) Extracts from Opus Tertium, &c., see p. 24. (3) *Secretum Secretorum* (here printed, pp. 25–172). (4) Tracts by Simon de Faversham, &c. It was apparently in English hands at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as it contains some verses in English by Robert Dey. Later copies (almost certainly of this manuscript) are Trinity Coll. Cambridge 1036 (fifteenth century) Fitzwilliam Mus. Camb. McClean 153 (fifteenth century), C.C.C. Ox. 149 (late fourteenth, Dr. Dee's copy).

A number of Bacon's notes are incorporated in a MS. of the *Secretum* in the British Museum MS. 12 E. xv, which afterwards belonged to Edward IV when a youth.

The date to be assigned to Bacon's share in this work lies between well-fixed limits. In the first place, the fact that he uses

the method of glossing would dispose us to put it early in his career. In the second, the fact that he alters the manuscripts before him when they treat of the length of the year (p. 80), preferring the worse to the better reading, shows that he had not, at the time of writing the note, arrived at the sense of the importance of accuracy in astronomy which he entertained, say, in 1267, when he wrote the Opus Majus. Thirdly, a number of the notes were written soon after his return to Oxford, after a stay in Paris (pp. 34, 38). I am therefore inclined to put the completion of the text and notes at some date before 1257, when he returned to Paris. The glosses, interlinear in the MS., are printed here immediately below the text as large-print notes.

The introductory treatise is much later. It must be some time after the comet of August, 1264 (p. 10[32]). It must even be after 1267. On p. 3[14] Bacon is very severe on 'glomerelli nescientes Grecum' for their confusion of 'matesis' and 'mathesis', translating the first as 'knowledge' and the second as 'divination'. Unfortunately he had in 1267 fallen into the same mistake (Op. Maj. i. 239[15]), and repeated it next year (Op. Tert., Brewer, p. 27[6]), though he corrected it in his Greek Grammar (p. 118[2]), and in his Mathematics. I am inclined to place the date of the introduction at about 1270, especially in view of Bacon's remarks about a forthcoming total eclipse (11[32]), which must refer either to that of June 13, 1276, visible in the polar regions, or of Oct. 28, 1277, visible in East Asia, which however did not become visible in England or France (unless the passage was written before the eclipse of May 25, 1267, visible in Italy).

The *Secretum Secretorum* exercised so great an influence on the mental development of Roger Bacon that merely on this ground a study of it would be interesting. From his first work to his last he quotes it as an authority, and there can be no doubt that it fortified, if it did not create, his belief in astrology and natural magic. It came to him and his contemporaries as an unquestioned work of Aristotle, which must have been known to exist for over a century, since it was quoted by Mesue, p. 273 (eleventh or twelfth century[1]) and a portion of it was translated *c.* 1135 in Spain, though Averroes in 1177 says, in his commentary to the Ethics (Lib. X *in fine*), that the 'de regimine vite' had not yet come into his hands. The

[1] He quotes, however, only from the intrusive 'de oculis', and even then not from any text known to us.

absence of a Greek text could make no difference to its reception—there was no original text known at the time of many other unquestioned works of Aristotle—though Bacon seems to have hypnotized himself into a belief that he had seen one (p. 172[10]).

The *Secretum* is perhaps the best known of that large family of works in which the man of the study takes upon himself the task of telling the man of affairs what he should do. Whistler is reported to have said that if artists went upon the Stock Exchange the qualities necessary to make them good painters would enable them to beat the men of business out of hand. No doubt the charlatan element in his own character would have carried him far on the road to success, though the state of his affairs does not lend support to his dictum. The long list of late classical treatises given by Mai in his Scriptorum vet. nova coll. ii is a proof of the popularity of the theme. There are several Arabic treatises of the kind, the relation of which to the *Secretum* is not close. Among these are B.M. Add. 7453 (the teaching of Aristotle, see p. 284), and the 'Peri Basileias' published in Arabic and Latin by Lippert in 1891 as a Halle dissertation. Giraldus Cambrensis wrote *c.* 1217 'de principis instructione', ed. Warner, 1891, Guibert of Tournai 'eruditio regum et principum' (1259), Ptolemy of Lucca (d. 1322) 'de regimine principum ad regem Chypri', printed under the name of St. Thomas, Aegidius Colonna 'de regimine principum', the author of the 'liber de informatione principum' (1297–1314) translated into French by Jean Gollin in 1379. William Peraud, prior of the Dominicans at Lyon, 'de eruditione principum', also printed among the works of St. Thomas, Fray Francisco Ximenes, Bishop of Elenia, 'Crestia, regiment de princeps' (see Knust, p. 297). Other works are—John of Wales (d. 1303), 'Breviloquium', and Vincent of Beauvais, 'de regimine principum' (*c.* 1263).

The 'Somnium Pharaonis' of Jean de Launha or de Limoges is a very interesting work of this class, evidently written in consequence of the popularity of the *Secretum.* It is dedicated to Thibaut of Champagne, King of Navarre, and was once assigned to the early years of the thirteenth century. In that case it must be before 1216, but modern scholars put the date as about 1250, a much more probable one.

The book contains professedly the secret doctrine of Aristotle, the acroatic or esoteric teaching which he reserved for his most intimate disciples, as opposed to the exoteric learning put at the disposal of

the public generally. The distinction is one which dates from his own lifetime; it was universally known, and amply accounts for the attribution of such a work as the *Secretum Secretorum* to Aristotle; no student in the Middle Ages could be blamed for receiving it as possibly genuine, however different from the books he met with in the schools.

Had then the book any claim to a Greek origin? I think not. Greek ideas, Greek commonplaces have been caught up into its text, Greek treatises have been incorporated with it, but the texture itself of the original work is oriental, not western. I believe it to have had its origin in the interaction between Persian and Syriac ideas which took place in the seventh to ninth centuries of our era, and probably at the same time as the Alexander legends studied by Dr. Budge.

It will perhaps be convenient to have a general summary of the history of the text, before going into particulars. No Syriac text has yet been found, though there is every probability that it has existed. The Arabic is found in two forms which I name provisionally Eastern and Western. Both obviously contain additions, but fortunately in the Western form the additions are nearly all at the end, while in the Eastern they are incorporated in the body of the work. By striking out these additions we get a fair idea of the text of the work, which can be most readily studied in Dr. Gaster's translation of the Hebrew version of the Western form, paragraphs 1–79 omitting 48. Though the list of discourses in the Eastern form is 10 and the Western 8 (or 7), the titles are the same and each is really in 10 discourses, though the Western calls some of them 'gates'.

A Latin translation of a part of the Western expanded text was made early in the twelfth century, but the whole text of the Eastern form was translated in the thirteenth century by Philip of Tripoli.

No Latin text corresponds in order or content to any Arabic text we know, and all the Latin texts we have are of the same general form. The tenth discourse of the Arabic is cut up, a great part omitted, the remainder displaced, part being added to the ninth, the rest to the second book. A new tenth book for the Latin is formed by taking the section on Physiognomy from the Arabic second book and making it a complete book. It seems possible that the Vulgate text thus formed is not the original Latin of Philip, but one edited by authority. The reasons are (1) Philip speaks in his introduction of geomancy. This (the calculation of the numerical values of

names and predictions therefrom) was in the original 'dictio decima', while there is no other trace of geomancy in any Latin text. (2) Bacon expressly tells us that most valuable sections of the text had been removed by dunderheads. (3) Though all the texts are Vulgate yet in some MSS. the chapter headings at the beginning show the Arabic order, e.g. physiognomy before justice, and the title 'dictio decima' in its right place, indicating that some MSS. must have existed with that arrangement. (4) In all the best Vulgate MSS. the proper ending of the (original) tenth book is preserved, and may be found at the end of Book II before Justice.

All the Latin MSS. are then of one main variety. They differ among themselves by omissions and additions, the principal additions being a chapter 'de oculis', another from Avicenna 'de viperis', and a note from Pliny as to the effect of the moon. Bacon's text is a variety of the Vulgate, modified by dividing it into four books, and adding new captions to the chapters. This text is otherwise a very good one, but it has had no effect on the MS. tradition.

The first printed Latin texts are very much abbreviated, printed from late fifteenth-century manuscripts. Two editions of the Vulgate text were printed before 1500. But in that year a composite text was printed for Achillini which had no manuscript authority. He seems to have got hold of the Hebrew version of the Western text, or of some early Latin version, and to have inserted its thirteenth and last section, which has no relation to the Eastern text, in suitable places of Philip's version. As the Achillini text is the one generally met with, this has caused a certain amount of confusion.

The Syriac Original.

In the introduction to the work as we now have it we are told that it was translated from Greek into Rumi, and from Rumi into Arabic, by Yuhanna ibn el-Batrik (or Ibn Yaḥya al-Baṭrik). Rumi is the common word for Syriac, when it does not mean Greek, and Yuhanna, who died A.D. 815, was a well-known translator, physician of Al-Ma'mun, who is said to have rendered the Politics and the Historia Animalium into Syriac, and the De caelo et mundo and the De anima in epitome, with other works, into Arabic. There does not seem anything obviously unlikely about the statements that a Syrian text has existed, and that it was translated into Arabic about the beginning of the ninth century by Ibn al-Batrik, while it is to be hoped that English scholars, at any rate, have dropped the pose that

a manuscript attribution is a decisive argument against the supposed author or translator having any connexion with the work.

A curious confirmation of the possible existence of a Syriac version has lately turned up in the publication by Dr. Budge of a thirteenth-century collection of medical treatises and receipts in Syriac (Syrian Anatomy, Pathology, and Therapeutics, 2 vols., London, 1913). Among them (ii. 540) is the formula for calculating victory by taking the numerical value of the names of the generals and casting out the nines (see pp. lx, 250). This formula is identical with one which exists in both forms of the Arabic text, though it is omitted in the Vulgate Latin version.[1]

It is unlikely that the Syriac text, if it should ever be found, will bear the name of the Secret of Secrets. Perhaps the traditional name preserved by Al-Makin, The Book of the knowledge of the Laws of Destiny, or the Kitab-al-siyasa of Ibn Khaldun, its alternative title in Arabic, may afford some clue. It is quite possible, even, that the Syriac original may correspond to a part only of the original Arabic form.

Another passage of Al-Makin, giving alternative names, but evidently relating to the *Secretum*, runs thus:

'Aristotle translated the books of Hermes, an ancient sage of the country of Egypt, out of the Egyptian into the Greek language, and he explained in his translation the sciences, and wisdom, and knowledge which were derived from them, and among these books was the "Book of Asṭemgânôs" wherein were described the gods of the men of olden time . . . (and the worship of seven spirits).

'And besides this he wrote the book which is called "The Book of Asṭamaṭis" which treateth of the breaching of cities, and fortresses, and kings' houses, and of the submission of kings, and of how men should make use of talismans and of the knowledge derived therefrom, and of the names which will bring down rain and water to them in the desert and in the waste land, whensoever they utter them.

'And besides these he wrote a work which is called "El-Setûṭas" wherein he treateth of the knowledge of the stars, and of lucky and unlucky days, and of what it is meet for men to do when the moon entereth among the eight-and-twenty stars, and among the twelve stars, and when new moon is of good or evil omen.

[1] See *Athenaeum*, July 26, 1913, and independently Dr. Gaster, *Journal of R. Asiat. Soc.*, April 1914.

'And he wrote other books which treat of the healing of animals' bodies, and of stones, and of trees, and of the stone which hath healing properties; and the "Book of the Ladder" which resembleth his other books of science.'—Budge, *Alexander*, vol. ii, pp. 384–5.

Other Syriac versions of similar treatises, not now extant, have existed in the past. Thus in the preface to the pseudo-Aristotelian 'de lapidibus' (ed. Rose, *Zeit. für deutsches Alterthum*, N.F. xvi, 1875, p. 349) we find the statement: 'Hunc librum dedit magnus Aristotiles filius Nichomachi magister Alexandri Magni regis Phylippi regis Macedonum filii. Et ego transfero ipsum ex greco sermone in ydyoma syrorum.' A list of Syriac versions of Aristotle is found in Hottinger's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii. 219–41.

The Western Arabic Form.

The earliest version of the *Secretum Secretorum* in Arabic consisted originally of seven (Oxford Laud Or. 210) or eight 'discourses', to which, in all forms now known, a number of additional sections have been added, without any change being made in the prefatory announcement. The 'discourses' are of very unequal length; the first, second, and third constitute the main body of the work, the other four or five being identical with the remaining seven of the longer version but split up differently. To this primitive work our MSS. add certain 'gates'—the treatise on Physiognomy, the 'regimen sanitatis', and a special discourse on alchemy and the properties of precious stones. No MS. follows the division into seven or eight 'discourses' it announces, all are in ten, the three additional 'gates' making thirteen.

It is in the seven-book form that it was known to Haji Khalfa, Mustafa ibn 'Abd Allah called Katib Chelebi (died 1658), who thus describes it under no. 10202 (I quote the Latin translation of his Encyclopedic list in Fluegel's edition): 'Kitab el siyasset, liber rectionis de republica administranda. Septem libri politicorum, quos Aristoteles Alexandro composuit, cum hic ab ipso vehementer peteret, ut nonnulla scriberet, quae ei regula essent, ad quam illo absente recurrere potest. Librum Arabice verterunt'. The *Secretum* is again described under no. 7102 (vol. iii, p. 591): 'Sirr el asrar, arcanum arcanorum de sapientia, auctor Yemeni. Archetypum graecum, ex quo hoc opus tempore Mamuni conversum est, philosophum auctorem habet, qui in favorem Alexandri de aministrandis regnis subjectis et exercitu scripsit.' Steinschneider (*Alfarabi*,

p. 142, n. 1) thinks Yemeni a confusion with Al-Hamdani. Pusey in the Bodleian Catalogue, ii. 578, quotes Haji Khalfa 10202 as concluding 'Arabice vero in gratiam Almamun ab Hanifa versum esse'. Dr. Cowley of the Bodleian Library is kind enough to inform me that Pusey quotes from the Bodleian MS. CCCC.XXII which has a different reading from Fluegel's text, and a better one. Hanifa is, however, impossible as an epithet, and Dr. Cowley suggests a simple emendation which makes the note read: 'then the Caliph Al-Ma'mun had it translated into Arabic, and thought very highly of it.' This disposes of Hanifa, and probably Yemeni should disappear with him.

The list of books in the Laud MS. (which I quote as W.) differs from that of Dr. Gaster (par. 7) by treating his sixth and seventh as one, making his eighth the seventh.

I have ventured to call this version the Western form because (1) it was this text that was known to Johannes Hispalensis in Spain; (2) it was this text that was translated into Hebrew by Harizi in Spain; and (3) it was this text (or Harizi's) that was translated into Spanish as the 'Poridad de las Poridades'.

The Eastern Arabic Form

is that which formed the basis for the Latin translation of Philip, to which it corresponds pretty closely. The chief differences from the Western form are in the additions incorporated in the second 'discourse', though there are considerable minor accretions in all parts.

In addition to everything in the Western form, Discourse II of the Eastern form contains the treatise 'de conservatione sanitatis' (pp. 64–8), the summary of Johannes Hispalensis (pp. 68–83), the 'regimen sanitatis', a tract of pseudo-Diocles 'de divisione corporis' (pp. 83–7)—(the continuation of the 'de conservatione sanitatis' (pp. 87–9) is only found in the Latin)—chapters on food, water, wine, and oxymel (pp. 89–94), a further continuation of the 'de conservatione' (pp. 94–6), an account of the Hammam (pp. 96–7), an account of the preparation of a universal medicine (pp. 98–105), and an account of the use of astrology in phlebotomy and medicine (pp. 109–10).

It ends in most Eastern Arabic MSS. with the 'de physiognomia' (pp. 164–72), though in one of them this tract forms part of Discourse III.

Discourse III, 'de justitia', corresponds closely with the Western

version. Discourses IV and V of the Eastern version make Discourse IV of the Western scheme; they contain long interpolations. Discourses VI and VII are cut out of Discourse V, VIII is VI, and IX is VII. Discourse IV of the Eastern scheme is further enlarged by the story of the Jew and the Mage (pp. 144–6) which is not found in the Western Arabic, and is replaced in the Hebrew version by a warning against red-headed counsellors. Discourse IX is enlarged by a section 'de electione temporum' (pp. 155–6) of an astrological character, while Discourse X, 'de scienciis incantamentorum' (pp. 157–63), is a scientific theory of talismans, to which every Arabic MS. adds a different series of illustrations. It includes the oldest known text of the 'Emerald Table' of Hermes. It is replaced in the Western form by Gate XIII which treats of alchemy, talismans, and the properties of gems.

The Date of the Eastern Arabic Text.

There can be little doubt that the process of accretion by which this version was formed was a gradual one. One of the additions (p. 58) may have been made at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The passage 'Sane puella in domo patrisfamilias ex nimio studio sciebat cursum anni et astrorum, . . .' may possibly be a reference to the learned lady 'nondum vicesimum agens annum' Constantina, daughter of the Archbishop of Athens, who 'pestilentias, tonitrua, eclipsim, et quod mirabilius fuit, motum praedicens, omnes suos auditores infallibiliter praemunivit' (Matt. Paris, v. 286). Matthew's authority for this is John of Basingstoke, who had been her pupil and who first appears in Grosseteste's Register as Archdeacon of Leicester in 1240 (there was an Archdeacon Robert in 1236–7); he died in 1252. If we assume, as an outside limit, that John was 60 when he became Archdeacon, he would be born about 1180, and as we know that he studied at Oxford, and 'Parisius diu studuisset et legisset', he could not have got to Athens before 1210, and most probably much later, since the Testament of the Patriarchs, which he brought from Athens on a second visit, was translated in 1240–2. This gives us then an approximate date for the completion of the longer Arabic version, as after 1220. But very possibly the Archdeacon's story is mere romance, and the reference in the Arabic text is a generality, founded on some such story as that of Hypatia.

[1] The Archbishops of Athens in the early thirteenth century were Michael Akominatos, 1175–1206 (Greek), who certainly never had a daughter, Berard, Nov. 27, 1206–23, and Conrad, 1223–?, of whom nothing is known.

A second line of conjecture, pointing to a somewhat similar date, is the great stress laid in it on astrology, which came into popularity in Mohammedan courts only with the Mongol dynasties. Al-Fakhri (1258), *Archives Marocaines* (1910), vol. cvi, p. 28, says: 'Sous la dynastie des Mogols, au contraire, toutes ces sciences furent délaissées et d'autres y furent en vogue, telles que la science des finances et de la comptabilité, pour l'établissement du budget, et la supputation des recettes et des dépenses de l'Empire, la médecine pour préserver les corps et les tempéraments, l'astronomie qui apprend à choisir les conjonctures favorables.' It is to be noticed that the earlier (Western) version contains only one reference to Astrology, that in pp. 60–2.

A third hint might have been expected from the statement as to the length of the seasons, inserted in their descriptions. These are not found in the Western version, from which the translation of Johannes Hispalensis was made. If we could trace their source, or find approximately the date at which they were correct, we should have made another step forward. Unfortunately the astronomers whom I have consulted seem to agree that at no period could these statements have been true.

The Hebrew Version.

The Western eight-book form was translated into Hebrew, as it appears, by Judah Al-Harizi, who flourished 1190–1218, and in its Hebrew form was widely spread, especially in Spain. His text has been edited, with an introduction and an English translation, by Dr. Gaster for the Royal Asiatic Society, 1907–8.

Harizi made a number of alterations in and additions to his text, some of them merely explanatory. Among the additions are large parts of §§ 20 and 21 (Gaster's translation), 23, all 28, 32, and part of 46, 58, and 62. The most notable addition is the section on alchemy §§ 125 and 128, on the magic ring § 126, and on poison § 127. The alchemy is plainly Hebrew and very interesting. Achab (Achavo in the Latin) is a sea-eagle.

The Translation of Johannes Hispalensis.

A large number of manuscripts exist of a translation of part of the *Secretum Secretorum* made by a well-known Jewish writer, Johannes Hispalensis or Hispaniensis, early in the twelfth century for

a Spanish queen, Theophina or Tharasia. The tract, as we know it, consists of an introduction, which incorporates the greater part of the prologue of Yuhanna ibn al-Batrik (p. 39) and the treatises 'de regimine sanitatis' and 'de calore naturale' from the Western form. A text of it was printed by Hermann Suchier in his *Denkmäler provenzalischer Literatur und Sprache*, Halle, 1883, pp. 472–80, from eight manuscripts in the British Museum, to illustrate a Provençal verse poem of the first half of the thirteenth century, pp. 201–13, which, except lines 313–76, is founded upon it.

Johannes Hispalensis (called Avendeath) was a Jewish translator in Toledo (1135–53) who worked for Dominic Gundisalvi, Archdeacon there. A list of his translations is printed by Steinschneider, *Jüdische Uebersetzer des Mittelalters*, p. 981.

A possible Tharasia was daughter of Alphonso VI, king of Leon and Castile. She was wife of Henry, Count of Burgundy, and mother of the first king of Portugal (1112–28). She died November 1, 1130 (*Art de vérifier*, Paris, 1818, vii. 2). No Theophina can be found, though this form of the name has the best MS. authority.

This version had a great success: many translations of it in Italian, German, and the Romance languages are described.

In the best MSS., e.g. Add. 26770 B.M., the translation is headed by the following lines and preface:

Hoc opus exiguum regi princeps medicorum
Mittit Alexandro servatus ut ille tenore
Propositoque modo medici non indiguisset.

Hoc mitto vobis ut vos securus eodem
Ordine vivatis ne frustra distribuatis
Res vestras medicis quia non opus est homicidis.

Epistola Aristotilis regi magno Alexandro de observacione humani corporis directa quam Johannes Hyspaniensis inventam Teophine Hyspaniarum regine transmisit.

Domine T. Hispanorum regine Johannes Hyspaniensis salutem. Cum de utilitate corporis olim tractaremus, et a me ac si esset medicus, vestra nobilitas queret brevem libellum facerem de observacione dyete vel de corporis continencia, id est, qualiter se debeant continere qui sanitatem corporis cupiunt conservare, accidit ut dum vestre jussioni cogitarem obedire, hujus rei exemplar ab Aristotile philosopho Alexandro editum repente menti occurreret, quod exscripsi

de libro qui arabice dicitur sirr al asrar, id est, secretum secretorum, quod fecit, sicut dixi, Aristotiles philosophus Alexandro magno de disposicione regiminum, in quo continentur multa regibus utilia. Que quidem jussu imperatoris sui a multis quesivit, de cujus invencione sic ait:

'Egressus sum diligenter inquirere quod michi preceptum est ab imperatore, et non cessavi sollicite querere loca et templa in quibus suspicabar philosophorum opera esse et abscondita, donec ad quoddam altare quod sibi edificaverit Hermes in que Sol venerabatur a quibusdam, ibique inveni quendam virum prudentem et religiosum. Huic adhesi, huic placere studui, et verbis dulcissimis eum linivi. quousque locum secretum mihi detegeret; in quo inveni plura scripta philosophorum secreta. Ibique hunc librum aureis litteris scriptum inveni, et sic invento hoc quod querebam cum gaudio reversus sum.'

Quod de greco in arabicum translatum, transtuli in latinum. Possideat ergo nobilitas vestra hoc opus, deo annuente, cum corporis sanitate.

There are a large number of MSS. of this version in Paris, London, and elsewhere.

The Translation of Philip.

At some time in the first half of the thirteenth century a translation of the longer Arabic text was made by a certain Philip, of whom we know nothing, for an Archbishop Guido, of whom we know equally nothing.

The earliest quotations from this version are to be found in Roger Bacon's 'epistola de accidentibus senectutis' written between 1243 and 1254, probably about 1247. These quotations are not from the tract of Johannes Hispalensis.

It is quoted by Guibert de Tournai in his *Eruditio Regum et Principum*, written at Paris 'apud fratres minores', October 1259 (pp. 57, 58, 59, 66–7, 69, 70, 76).

It is also known to Albertus Magnus, *de Animalibus*, i. 2, who quotes from the Physiognomy the story of Hippocrates, and makes several other citations. The date of this work is put at about 1260. A quotation appears in the early comment on Boethius, *de consolatione et disciplina scolarium*, and in Michael Scot, *de natura Solis et*

Lune, while the Emerald Table (pp. 115–17) is quoted by Albertus, *de mineralibus*.

In his dedication Philip states that the book was found at Antioch. Some doubt has been thrown on this remark, but without reason: Antioch was a very likely place for the free exchange of thought between Christians and Mohammedans at the time.

Though we know nothing certain of Guido or Philip we have some materials for conjecture. The translation is dedicated in the Vulgate MSS. 'Guidoni Vere de Valencia, civitatis metropolis glorioso pontifici', a form which is obviously incomplete, and accordingly soon passed into 'civitatis tripolitani glorioso pontifici'. Bacon supplies in his title the name of the archiepiscopal see as Napolis, i. e. Naples. If this is true, Guido could only have been archbishop between 1247 and 1253.

Philip, who had been in his service and was now separated from him, is called in the body of the work in several early manuscripts 'Philippus Tripolitanus', e. g. 'Incipit liber quartus. Transtulit magister Philippus Tripolitanus de forma justitia' (B.N. fonds latin 6584, 11119 &c.). We know of a Philip of Tripoli who was canon of Byblos 1243–8, chaplain of Hugo, Cardinal of St. Sabine, canon of Tyre, canon of Tripoli (provision of 1243, not filled 1248), elected to see of Tyre Oct. 26, 1250, but declined it in favour of N. cantor of Tripoli 'our chamberlain': licence 1251, Jan. 15 to keep all offices together in Tyre, Sydon, and Tripoli after election of N. to Tyre. Chaplain of Innocent IV March 8, 1251.

We get hints in a brief of 1243 as to the business that may have taken Philip to Antioch: the Bishop of Tripoli, who had never fathomed 'the mysteries of Donatus and Cato', having been excommunicated and interdicted by the patriarch of Antioch. We have no hint as to any connexion of a Guido de Vere with Valence or Valencia. He may possibly have belonged to the Lincolnshire Anglo-Norman family of de Vere, in which Guido was a family name. I can find no other Vere family in Western Europe in which Guido was a family name. In this one we meet a Guy de Vere in the 1131 Pipe Roll, another in 1173 supporting Henry II against his sons, in 1180 paying a fine for not destroying a castle in Lincolnshire, in 1199 a benefactor of the Hospitallers, in 1204 a benefactor of Selby Abbey, and another in 1233 as a tenant of Ranulf de Blundeville, Earl of Chester. The persistence of the name in the family for a century almost creates a probability that our Guido de Vere was

a member of it.[1] It may be worth noting that there is a blank in the list of the Archbishops of Tyre between 1244 and 1251.

Everything then seems to point to a period of about 1243 for the translation of Philip, with the exception of some verbal resemblances in Michael Scot's 'de secretis' to phrases in the introduction of the physiognomy of the *Secretum Secretorum*. If the attribution of this tract is genuine it must have been written before 1234, and if the similarity of phraseology is convincing the *Secretum Secretorum* must

[1] APPROXIMATE GENEALOGY OF THE DE VERES OF LINCOLN AND YORKS.

William Ingelram
John Ingelram — Erneis de Barun — (4) ? ? Robert de Vere alive 1135
Adelina m. Erneis de Gousle — (5) Guy de Vere ? b. 1110 ? d. 1170
(1) Robert de Gousle alive 1166 — (6) Guy de Vere ? d. 1205 — (7) Gilbert de Vere Abbot of Selby 1160–84
~~~ wife of (b. 1158) (3) Simon de Crevearn — (2) Adam de Gousle m. ··· dau. d. 1203 — ⊗ — (8) Gundreda m. Nicholas de Chevrincourt
2 sons and 2 dau. (in 1186) — (9) Walter de Vere m. Sibilla de Kyme b. 1189 d. 1212 — Wm. Melton de Vere
(10) Simon de Vere b. 1208 — (11) Guy de Vere b. 1212
(10) Simon de Vere b. 1243

(1) Monast. ii. 200, vi. 287; Lands in Gousle and Witton 1166 (Lib. Niger); with Adelina grant to Whitby; Grant of Church at Gousle to Bridlington (Burton 230), confirmed by Walter Fitz Adam. (2) Adam (Hunter Pipe Roll 1 R., p. 61). Chancery Roll 3 J. (3) Yorks. Arch. Journ. 4. 242. (4) Witness (1135–54) Selby Coucher, 1. 31, 2. 229; Charter of Battle Abbey (1126–33) but ? Shropshire. (5) Hunter, 31 H. 1 (p. 30); Fines, 8 H. 2, 11 H. 2, 14 H. 2; Selby Coucher, ii. 224, 229, 298. (6) Fines, 16 H. 2, 17 H. 2, 26 H. 2, 27 H. 2, 1 Rich. (p. 61, Hunter Pipe), 3 John; (Chancery), Selby Coucher, ii. 295, 296, 297, 298, i. 18. (7) Selby Coucher; Monast. Aug. (8) Selby Coucher, ii. 296. (9) Hardy Fine Rolls, p. 324 (Simon de Kima was his father-in-law); Burton, p. 230. (10) Confirmation, 1229 (Burton, 374); Confirmation, 1264 (Burton, 230), (11) Close Roll. 1233.

Guy de Vere the second was a benefactor of St. John of Jerusalem (Charter 1 John), and if Archbishop Guido belongs to this family he was probably his son.
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have been in his hands. I must confess that the arguments of Prof. Foerster on this point do not carry conviction to me. On the other hand there is no reason why Scot may not have had the Arabic text, or its sources, before him.[1]

There can be no doubt but that Philip was acquainted with the work of his predecessor at least, and that he incorporated it in his text. The paragraph 'Cum hoc corpus corruptibile sit' (p. 68) is not found in the Eastern text, but is the introduction to the 12th 'gate' of the Western text, and could only have been taken by Philip from Hispalensis direct. From this point to p. 81^{15} Philip incorporates the Hispalensis text, adding his own translation of the large additions in the Eastern text. He then found a long section in Hispalensis (81^{19}–83^{15}) which was not in the Eastern text at that place—and this he took over into his book without noticing that it came in later in his text (88^{5}–89^{10} being the same as 81^{19-30}, and 94^{22}–96^{2} another form of 82^{1}–83^{8}). Lines 9–15 on p. 83 are probably an addition to some MS. of Hispalensis and are not in either text, though incorporated by Philip (lines 16–20 seem to be a gloss, added sometimes at the end of the 'de oculis', p. 86). We may note that one or two

[1] There are in the introduction of Scot these phrases only which have a verbal agreement with the *Secretum*.

p. 206. Hujus enim scientiae inquisitio est in pulcherrima natura, *cujus perfectio attribuitur* physionomo *de numero antiquorum* Physione *summo doctori* in scientia naturali (cf. 164^{24}).

p. 207. *Constituo ergo*, o Frederice Imperator, *tibi ex hac scientia physionomiae regulas et constitutiones abbreviatas*: quas tibi pono satis sufficienter. Jugo quarum si te bene adjeceris . . . (cf. 166^{2})

In part i. chapter 1, in a long discourse on conception:

p. 212 Et sicut de calibe et silice exit quandoque scintilla, ita de spermate exit quandoque conceptio, et *matrix est embrioni sicut olla* ad coquendum epulum (cf. 166^{6}).

Part ii, chapter 24, after quoting Hippocrates, Galen, and Rhasis:

p. 264. Sed antequam veniamus ad totam intentionem nostri sermonis ex praerogativa dicimus quod valde *cavendum est* in omni tempore *ab* obviatione et societate *hominis infortunati*. opus naturae superioris, ut *ab homine cui diminutum sit aliquod membrum*, ut oculus, manus, etc. (cf. 167^{8}).

Cap. 65, in the course of a chapter of over sixty lines:

p. 299. Cujus *nasus* fuerit *simus* significat hominem *impetuosum*, vanum mendacem, luxuriosum, debilem, instabilem, cito alteri credentem et convertibilem ad utrumque. Cujus *nasus fuerit in medio latus et declinet ad summitatem* sui, significat hominem facile *mendacem*, vanum, luxuriosum, *verbosum*, & crudelis fortunae (cf. 168^{25}, 168^{28}).

These extracts, of which only the first three show verbal coincidences, do not seem sufficient to warrant the assumption of anything more than a knowledge by Scot of the treatise on Physiognomy in either Arabic or Latin. The history of this section of the work is still so obscure that it is quite possible that it was translated as a separate work and incorporated by Philip in the same way as the translation of Johannes Hispalensis.

Secretum manuscripts have gone so far as to introduce the Hispalensis preface into the text at p. 68.

There can hardly be any doubt that Philip was French-speaking: the use of *ache* (parsley), *betes* (p. 97), is sufficient proof, but we have several Latin words used in the sense of their French derivatives, *probus* for *preux*, *indiscretus* for *indiscret*, *extraneus* for *étrange*, *bajulus* for *bailli*, *citra mare* in opposition to *outre-mer*, and so on. We are referred to a dissertation by Taube which I have been unable to see for other proofs by C. B. Hase.

The Official Revision of Philip's Translation.

The difference in order between the Arabic and Latin texts points to the conclusion that an extensive work of revision was carried on before the form in which we now have the Latin text was established. The most important changes, as has already been said, were the elimination of the magical element in the tenth discourse and the removal of the physiognomy from the end of the (Arabic) second discourse to take its place as the (Latin) tenth book. Even if we had only Philip's preface before us we might be led to suspect some tampering with the book, since we find in the body of the Vulgate text nothing of the 'operandi incantaciones et celimanciam et geomanciam' of which he speaks (p. 26[29]) in his dedication.

As a matter of fact Bacon tells us plainly that some such process of editing had taken place before he undertook to gloss the work. 'Et multa exemplaria non habent illam doctrinam, quia stulti non voluerunt scribere, set abraserunt a libris suis, sicut exemplaria quatuor que nunc inveni Oxonie non habuerunt illa, nec similiter multa alia, set Parisius habui exemplaria perfecta' (p. 39[31]). 'Item cum in correccione istius exemplaris habui quatuor exemplaria, scio quod ablata sunt ab eis quedam capitula per stulticiam aliquorum. Et ideo querantur in aliis exemplaribus. Solebam enim habere integrum quantum fuit translatum' (p. 172[10]).

It would be tempting to connect this revision with that ordered by Gregory IX in 1231 of the 'libri naturales', which were not to be used 'quousque examinati fuerint, et ab omni errorum suspicione purgati', but there is absolutely no reason for doing so.

We have no MSS. which represent this earliest form of Philip's version, and Bacon's is the fullest text we have, but there are traces of the earlier order in the indexes of many of the Vulgate MSS., in which (only in the index) the tract of Physiognomy comes before

the tract on Justice. A good example is B.N. fonds latin 6756 (in an Italian or Avignon hand of the early fourteenth century) which shows a close correspondence with the original order. Others of less importance are B.M. 12 D. iii, 12 C. vi. In many cases the list of contents shows the original order while the text itself is in the revised form.

No printed Latin texts correspond exactly with the full Vulgate text, though some of the earlier translations were made from it.

Bacon's Edition.

Encouraged by the fact that changes had already been made in the text, Bacon set himself the task of further rearrangement, dividing it into four parts of approximately equal length instead of the ten of his author, and inserting several paragraphs as well as transforming the chapter headings, without giving any indication of the changes he had made. Some of these insertions may indeed have been brought up into the text by copyists inserting glosses, but others are unmistakably inserted by him. The chapter he adds most to is that on the flesh of vipers as a medicine, extracted from Avicenna. The section of the theory of magic, 'O Alexander jam scivisti' (pp. 157–63), which in the Arabic begins the tenth discourse, is placed by him at the end of his third part: in the ordinary Latin MS. text it is moved as a whole, with the sections on alchemy and the properties of stones and plants which follow it, to the end of the second book.

A rather remarkable thing is that Bacon calls the work (pp. 25, 172) Liber Decem Scienciarum—a name otherwise unknown in Latin, but with Arabic authority. In the *Universal History of El-Makin* (Budge, *Alexander*, ii. 382) we find:

'Now there are some who say that Aristotle the sage, the teacher of Alexander, taught the ten sciences of the earth and established them, and that he composed many treatises on the healing of the body besides other well-known books. And he compiled for Alexander a work, which we have mentioned in a previous place, and entitled it "The Book of the Knowledge of the Laws of Destiny", and in it the science of talismans and the art of astrology, and he drew therein magical figures which were to be used for frightening and terrifying men and he further gave instructions. . . .'

With the exception of the three or four late copies of this manuscript Bacon's edition had no influence on the text of the *Secretum*.

Achillini Text.

In 1501 Alexander Achillini, a physician-jurist of Bologna, published a text of the *Secretum* which has been copied in all

subsequent editions. At the end of Book II he inserted a large part of section O (pp. 157–161[24]), followed by section Q, as in the Vulgate text, to p. 115[21]. Here he inserts a passage from the Western form (paragraphs 125 and 126 Gaster), and then resumes with p. 115[22]. Between pp. 118 and 119 of our text he again inserts paragraphs 127–135 of the Western text (ed. Gaster), transposing paragraphs 133 and 134. The Latin text of these additions is printed as Appendix I, pp. 173–5. No manuscript of this text is known.

The Taegius Text.

In 1516–17 Franciscus Taegius published in a collection of gnomic authors a new arrangement of the *Secretum*. The work is extremely rare and I have been unable to see a copy, but an account of it by Franciscus Storella in the 1555 edition of the *Secretum* may be quoted.

Illud etiam hoc in loco praemonendum esse ducimus quod Ticinii liber, qui secretum secretorum Aristotelis inscribitur, fuit excussus a praesenti tamen longe diversus, liber siquidem ille in treis partes est scissus, in quibus, tribus Alexandri postulationibus fit satis, in prima agitur de immortalitate animae. in secunda de conservatione sanitatis, in tertia vero de regimine principum, duae posteriores partes ex praesenti volumine sunt excerptae, capitum tamen ordine. ac verbis nonnullis immutatis, sententiae tamen nihil fere est in illis, quod ex praesenti non fuerit abstractum. At prima in hoc minime habetur, ne itaque cupidus lector ex secretorum volumine in hac editione aliquid desideret, quod ego praestare possum, illam hic subjicere decrevi, eoque libentius, quod et brevitate et utilitate maxima est referta, est autem tractatulus ille subscriptus.

O Alexander in epistola tua petebas a me tria : ego cupiens tibi morem gerere, primo dicam de animi aeternitate : postea de aliis. Socrates saepe cum discipulis de hoc loquebatur, castigabat eos magnopere quod dicebant animas mori cum corpore, quia sic boni et mali pares essent post mortem, et tolleretur omnis ratio vivendi. Ad quid sudare ob virtutes et speculativas scientias acquirendas ? unde opinari animam rationalem esse mortalem est causa omnium malorum evenientium mortalibus, in Phaedone dictum est, quod Socrates conquaerebatur animam in corpore sepultam, ac ibi detineri tanquam in carcere, et adducebat vetus illud eulogium quo dicitur. In carcere quodam fuimus postquam venimus. Ideo corpus spleum appellabat, et Empedocles antrum, et animae hinc profectionem, nexuum solutionem, ac splei fugam aiebat. Et Axiocho laboranti suasit Socrates ne timeret mortem propter animae immortalitatem, quae post exitum ab hoc mortali corpore praemiatur secundum merita adeo quod Axiochus ex vi verborum suorum prius formidans mortem, ac deplorans se privari his bonis, jam mortem exoptaret, ut sua anima ex hoc carcere liberaretur. Neque est verum ut in Thimeo

dictum est, animas reverti in nova corpora ad luenda supplitia. Nam quid oportet animas vinculis corporis eripi : si rursus in aliud corpus detrudendae sunt ? nam ociosa esset mors. Nam oportebat malorum hominum eatenus proferri vitam, quo ad illorum propagandi essent cruciatus. Pater Socrates prius docuit animae rationalis immortalitatem : ac post separationem a corpore ille quae virtutibus erant praeditae gaudebant jucunditate, ac harmonia coelesti, eo erant gratae primo rerum opifici. At ille quae obscuris actibus et beluinis voluptatibus erant deditae : deprimuntur in orbem tristem ac tartarum, ubi tenebris, tristitia : ac perpetuo igne cruciantur.

Dixit quandoque Plato animas rationales e corporibus exolutas accedere ad compares stellas, ibique beari ac tristari secundum merita ac demerita. Diximus nos in his quae de anima : intellectum hominis esse immixtum animae impassibilem, et incorruptibilem, et in libro De Natura Deorum docuimus eum remanere post separationem a corpore, cum illis affectionibus quas in corpore acquisiverat idcirco malorum animae cum restent cum passionibus gulae, luxuriae, ambitionis, et avaritiae, appetunt iterum exercere illos actus : et cum desint eis corpora ac organa proportionata ad illa, detinentur hac exercendi libidine perpetuo, et ita habent hanc perpetuam miseriam. Bonorum vero animae quae virtutem et scientias speculativas habuere, et virtute heroyca elatae post mortem remanent capaces beatitudinis, et sic beantur per hoc, quod deus et intelligentiae haerent uti formae illis, et sunt Deo amantissimae. Locus beatitudinis est stella compar, domina signi horoscopantis, per quod anima descendit. Siquidem cum per illam descendat par est ut ad illam redeat ut beatificetur. Quare Alexander te toto animo ad virtutem et scientias capescendas accingas, rejiciens vitia, ne post mortem anima tua tristetur aeterno tempore.

Classification of MSS.

All MS. versions of the *Secretum Secretorum* known to me derive from one source—the edition of Philip's translation put forth by authority shortly before 1259—either by successive mutilations or by easily recognizable additions.

Mr. J. P. Gilson in cataloguing the British Museum manuscripts of the *Secretum* arrived at a number of criteria by which they may be divided into classes. They are as follows:

(*a*) Pliny note (p. 111).
(*b*) De Viperis (p. 105).
(*c*) O Alexander, jam scivisti (p. 157).
(c^1) De apprehensione intellectus (p. 158).
(c^2) De imaginibus (p. 162).
(*d*) The medicines after the third (p. 101).
(*e*) De Oculis (p. 84).

To which I would add

(*f*) Indus (p. 87).

(*g*) Physiognomy before Justice in list of books.

(*a*) The Pliny note is an early annotation often incorporated into the text. (*b*) The chapter on Vipers belongs to a special tradition of Paris and English MSS. (*c*) These are parts of the 'dictio decima' on Magic, and MSS. showing (c^2) are especially valuable as showing the primitive text. (*d*) Many of the medicines were omitted in the fourteenth century as unintelligible. (*e*) The 'de oculis' is a very early corruption, and a MS. showing in its place 'de ventre' is valuable as derived from the primitive text. (*f*) Most MSS. omit the Indian physician's advice. (*g*) shows a connexion with the uncorrected form of Philip's text.

None of these criteria, it will be seen, refer to a divergence of actual text; they may be all either additions to or subtractions from one original, with the exception of the 'de oculis' which is a substitution.

We may offer the following provisional classification:

(A) Two texts preserve the original place of the Physiognomy, i. e. before Justice: B.N. 6756 (a fourteenth-century Avignon hand) and B.M. 5 F. xiv (a sixteenth-century composite MS. otherwise important).

(B) The following MSS. retain, in their list of chapter headings only, the original position of Physiognomy: B.N. 6584, 11118, 15081 (all thirteenth century), and 3358 (fourteenth century).

(C) The following two classes of MSS. have the whole section on Magic printed in this edition: B.N. 6755 (thirteenth century), 6755 A (fourteenth century), 11120 (fifteenth century).

(D) These MSS. place pp. 157–63 after p. 123[6] before Justice: evidently a mistaken attempt to reunite the 'dictio decima'. B.M. Sl. 1934 (thirteenth century), 12 C. vi (fourteenth century), 12 D. iii, Sl. 2413 (fifteenth century).

(E) The large class of MSS. which omit the fourth to ninth medicine, the greater part of the theory of magic, and the 'de viperis'. Examples are B.N. 6584 (thirteenth century), 6978, 11119 (fourteenth century), B.M. Eg. 2676 (thirteenth century), Sl. 3469, 9 B. ii, Sl. 3554 (fourteenth century).

(F) In the course of the fifteenth century a very much abbreviated text came into circulation containing a certain amount of the medical and didactic portions of the work. The abbreviation is so badly done as to leave the text at times unintelligible. The MSS. are

mostly Flemish. Examples are B.N. 3029, 6587, 7031, and n.a.l. 711.

A number of MSS. are composite, containing either the omitted chapters added at the end from another source, or sections not belonging to the work at all (as in 12 E. xv, which includes the present Aristotelian Physiognomy and a great many notes from Bacon), or parts of the Hispalensis tract (as in Sl. 3554 or B.N. 16022).

It is somewhat remarkable that no early MS. except Bacon's gives the 'Medicus Indicus' (p. 87).

TABLE SHOWING COMPOSITION OF THE PRINCIPAL BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE MSS. THEY CONTAIN

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*
13th cent.							
6584	×	...	...	...	×	...	×
6755	×	×	×	×	...	...	...
11118	...	...	...	...	...	...	×
15081	×	...	...	×	×	...	×
15082	×	×	...	×	×	...	...
14th cent.							
3358	...	...	...	...	...	...	×
6755 A	×	×	×	×	...	...	...
6756	...	...	c^1	×	...	...	...*
6978	×	...	...	...	...	...	...
11119	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15067	...	...	...	×	×	...	...
16022	...	×	...	×	×	...	...
15th cent.							
6481	...	×	...	×	...	...	...
11120	...	...	×	×	...	...	...

* Also text.

THE PRINCIPAL MSS. IN BRITISH MUSEUM CONTAIN

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	
13th cent.								
Sl. 1934. Magic before Justice	×[1]	×[1]	×	×	×	...	...	Imperfect at end
Eg. 2676	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Imperfect
14th cent.								
12 C. vi. Early, has Magic, end of Book II	×	×	×	×	...	...	...	English
13 C. vi. Compound	×	...	c^1	×	...	...	...	English
Sl. 3469	×	...	...	...	...	...	...	
12 E. xv. Compound, Bacon's notes, not S. phys.	...	...	c^1	×	×	...	...	English
9 B. ii	×	...	...	...	...	...	...	English
Sl. 3554. Compound with J. H.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	

		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	
15th cent.									
12 D. iii.	Magic before Justice	×	×	×	×	×	...	...	English
Sl. 2413	Magic before Justice	×	×	×	×	×	...	...	Imperfect
Sl. 1128		×	...	...	...	×	...	...	
H. 1008		×	...	×	×	×	...	...	English
H. 2584		...	×	...	×	...	...	...	Italian
Burn. 68		...	...	×	×	×	...	...	
12 C. xx		...	...	...	×	×	...	...	
H. 399		...	...	...	...	×	...	...	English
32097		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Italian
16th cent.									
5 F. xiv.	Compound	×	...	...	×	×[1]	...	...	Physiog. misplaced before herbs
12 D. xv				Imperfect					

The following are a few of the MSS. of the Hispalensis selection: British Museum, Harl. 2558, 3719, Ar. 123, 185, 459, Burney 350, 360, Sloane 282, 405, 420, 426, 430, Add. 26770; Bibl. Nat. 6679, 8749, 14809.

A text, much shortened and altered by F. Adam de Mondaldo (fl. 1480), is now in the Perrin Collection, formerly Yates Thompson 47.

Secreta Secretorum metrice composita.

There is in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal at Paris (MS. 875) a metrical version in Latin made by a certain Nicolas for his friend John.

Bacon's Introductory Treatise.

The summary printed pp. 278–83 will indicate to the general reader that this work is not an introduction in the modern sense. It is, in fact, a defence of legitimate divination, and a preliminary text-book of the elements of astrology, using the word in the modern sense. Bacon himself uses the word Astrology in the most general sense, as the whole body of knowledge concerning the stars, subdividing it into judiciary and operative Astronomy.

The distinction between true and false mathematicians that he lays down is one to which he recurs several times. It is perhaps worthy of note that the second line of his quotation from Eberhardus, which is not in the printed text,

Philosophi matesim, magici dixere mathesim,

is quoted by him in his Greek Grammar (p. 118) as

Philosophi matesim, dicunt vatesque mathesim,

while in the editions of Eberhardus there are still two more variants,

'retinent' and 'breviant' for 'dicunt'. The line in the printed text is

Datque mathematicos comburi theologia.

He then passes to the discussion of free will, showing its compatibility with astrological predictions: these latter only showing the surroundings in which persons will be living at a fixed time and place, and the likelihood of their actions taking a definite direction in consequence. On p. 6 he gives the titles of five illicit books as examples, and tells us that he has known very great men, not only clerks but learned princes, engaged in their study. He goes on to describe several forms of popular magic. Among these is the art of seeing such things as stolen goods by looking on polished surfaces such as the finger-nails of bewitched virgin youths, basins, sword-blades, and the blade-bones of rams. The art of geomancy and of making figures in sand is next referred to, and Bacon describes how in lands oversea geomancers sit in the market-places and answer the questions of all comers. Lawful divination is his next subject, which includes vaticination from natural objects, such as the Comet of 1264 (which preceded the death of Simon de Montfort), with its results. He describes the phenomena which accompany a total eclipse, which he had evidently seen.

In his astrological section we have an account of the movements of the spheres, the apparent motion of the sun, the properties of the planets (with allusions to rhubarb and scammony), the aspects of the planets (conjunction, trine, quartile, sextile, and opposition), the signs of the zodiac and their qualities, and the houses of the planets. The 'dignities' of the planets are given as *domus*, *exaltacio*, *triplicitas*, *facies*, and *terminus*. The order here varies from that in the *Opus Majus*, i. 258, where a *terminus* has twice the dignity of a *facies* (see also i. 378, 389), this definition being borrowed from Grosseteste's *de impressionibus* (Philos. Works, ed. Bauer, p. 42). The signs and planets are also either masculine or feminine. Lastly the scheme for the solution of any question is described.

Bacon closes the tract by a short eulogy of the universal medicine to be found in the body of the *Secretum*, p. 99.

Bacon's Notes on the Text.

Bacon's notes on the text are of three kinds: (1) textual emendations or variant readings, (2) explanation of the meaning of words, (3) digressions.

His variants are often improvements on the reading he has adopted in the text, and I would have been tempted to substitute them if I had not been prevented by my plan, which is to give a faithful account of the manuscript before me. In the present instance there is the less need for it, as any reader can satisfy himself at once which reading is preferable by a reference to the translation of the Arabic text.

His explanations show that he was at the time of writing ignorant of Arabic, two French words being represented as Arabic. They seem in most cases to be pretty obvious, and show that he did not expect much intelligence in the reader.

His digressions are more interesting. They reveal his pre-occupation with magic, with medicine, and with alchemy, and give us little sidelights on the history of his time, like that on poison (p. 88) or on the cure of a prince (p. 105). From a note (on p. 165) we learn that the Aristotelian physiognomy had recently been translated.

Printed Latin Texts.

The first printed texts of the *Secretum Secretorum* are of the abbreviated type, F. Of this type there are two independent kinds, distinguished readily by the words in the preface 'lingua Arabica' (a) and 'lingua Hebrayca' (b).

Short Text (a) sine nota. 29 caps.

(1) B.M. I.A. 3209. Cologne. A. Ther Hoernen. n.d. (*c.* 1477). 72 ff. a–i⁸. 27 ll.; no sig.
(H. 1782; Pell. 1246; Maz.)

Short Text (b) sine nota. 30 caps.

(2) B.M. I.A. 49240. Louvain. Joh. de Westphalia. n.d. 68 ff. a–h⁸, i⁴. 30 ll.
(H. 1781; Campb. 175; Maz. 964; Pell. 1245.)

(3) B.M. I.A. 49867 and B.N .R. 679. Antwerp. Matt. v. d. Goes. n.d. (1486?). 22 ff. a–c⁶, d⁴. 30 ll.; sig.
(Campb. 176; Bodl.)

(4) B.N. R. 1234. Antwerp. Matt. v. d. Goes. n.d. (1488?). 22 ff. a–c⁶, d⁴. 30 ll.; sig.; init. grav.
(Campb. 177; Pell. 1244.)

VULGATE. (Different texts of the same type.)

(5) B.N. R. 790. Paris (Caesar and Stoll?). n.d. (1480?). 66 ff. a–f[8], g, h[10]. 30 ll.
(Pell. 1243.)

(6) B.M. I.A. 10756. Reutlingen. Greyff. n.d. (1483). 44 ff. a–e[8], f[4]. (Contains sections a, c–e, g–r, t, P, Q, A, B, D–M, u, v; 73 caps.).
(H. 1779.)

ACHILLINI TEXT.

(7) B.N. R. 54 (2). Bologna. Impensis B. Hector. 1501. fo. d.c.
(8) Bodl. Bologna. Impensis B. Hector. 1516. fo. d.c.
(9) B.M. 520, a. 12, and Bodl. Paris. G. du Pré. 1520. 16⁰.
(10) B.N. R. 1912. Lyon. Blanchard. 1528–9. 16⁰.
(11) B.M. Naples. Cancer. 1555. 16⁰.

TAEGIUS TEXT.[1]

(12) Bib. Naz. Naples. Pavia. Pulchridrapensis. 1516–17. fo.

NOT DESCRIBED.[2]

(13) Burgos. Andreas de Burgos. 1505. 4⁰.

GHOSTS.

Venice. 1501.
Venice. 1555.

FRENCH MS. VERSIONS.

(1) *inc.* A son seigneur hautisme en culture de crestienne religion tres vertueus Guy veirement de Valence . . . *expl.* Accomplis est cist traites des signes et murs naturels doms al grandesime roys Alexandre ki sire estoit de tout le monde e monarche dit et nome al septantrion ke nous apelons north. Ci fenist li liures Aristote qest entitle Secre des Secres del governails des princes ou del governement des seignurs.
B.N. ff. 571. 13th cent. Anglo-French.

(2) *inc.* Jehans, fiez Patricie (Patrice) sage de tous languages . . .
B.N. ff. 562 and 1086, Cambrai 959, Arsenal 2691, B.M. 18179, end of 14th cent.
(Shortened form. The B.N. text omits much and changes the order.)

[1] Panzer, vii. 498. 24. Information from Dr. Salveraglio of Pavia University Library.

[2] P. Vindel, Sale Catalogue, Madrid, 1913, '151. Aristoteles, Utilisimus (*sic*) liber de secretis secretorum.'

(3) *inc.* (after table). Dieu tout puissant . . . *expl.* le livre du gouvernement des Roys et des Princes.

B.N. ff. 1087, 1166, 1958, B.M. Harl. 219, Camb. Un. FF. 1. 33.

(This text was printed in 1497 by Verard; it was translated into English, B.M. 18 A. vii.)

(4) *inc.* A son seigneur tres excellent en la religion crestienne estable et tres ferme, Guy de Valence de la cite de Tripoli . . . cest chose digne juste et resonnable.

Bodl. Rawl. C. 538, end of 14th cent.

(5) *inc.* Aristote dou gouvernemant des roys. A Guys de Valence gloriou esveques de la citeit de Tripolle: par Philippes, li plus petits de ces clercs . . .

Montpellier 164.

MODIFIED FORMS.

(6) A compilation of the *Secretum*, the Dieta of Isaac, and commonplaces of theology and history, by Iofroi de Watreford and Servais Copale.[1]

B.N. ff. 1822, *circ.* 1290.

(Translated into English by James Young, 1422.)

(7) *inc.* Ici comencent les epististels secretes del livre Aristotle . . . Beauz fiz, glorious dreturel emperers, Dieux te conferme et refreyne tes appetits . . . .

B.M. 20 B. v, f. 136, end of 14th cent.

(A very shortened and much altered form. From f. 141 it leaves the *Secretum* altogether.)

VERSE.

(8) Pierre de Peckham (de Abernun). Secre de Secrez.

B.N. 25407, ff. 173–196.

(Here printed pp. 287–313.)

(9) The Provençal version of J. H., see p. xvii.

FRENCH PRINTED VERSIONS.

(1) Pell. 1247. B.N. R. 794. Paris. 1496. 6 ff.

(2) Pell. 1248. B.N. S. 712. Antwerp. Godfridus Back. (1500.) 6 ff.

(Copp. 641, Campb. 177ᵃ.)

(3) Pell. 1249. B.N. H. 506 (3). Brehaut Loudeac. Foucquet and Cres. (1484.) 6 ff.

[1] See Hamilton, *Romanic Review* (1910), i. 259.

(4) Pell. 1250. B.N. Ye. 3015. Paris. de Marulf? n.d. 8 ff.
(5) Pell. 1251. B.N. R. 1865. (Rouen.) n.d. 4 ff.
(6) Pell. 1252. Besançon. 112. (Paris.) (Ant. Caillaut.) (1484.) 4 ff.
(7) B.N. Res. R. 2669. Paris. A. Loctrian et D. Janot. n.d. (c. 1530) 7 ff.
(8) B.N. Res. p. R. 255. Paris. A. Lotrian & D. Janot. n.d. 30 ff.
(9) Vorst. 2179. ez. (Type of 1488 Ethica.) n.d. 16 ff.
(Le gouvernement des princes traduit du grec en françois par le docteur Philippe.)
(10) Pell. 1253. B.M. C. 22. c. 3 vell. B.N. E*. 46. Paris. Verard. 1497. 76 ff. d.c.
(Hain, 1784. To f. 22ᵃ, a shortened form of No. 3 MS. version.)
(11) Holtrop ii. 911. 43 ff.
(12) B.N. Res. R. 1721. Paris. Tignonville. 1531.
(Included in *Les Dicts moraux des Philosophes.*)
(13) B.M. 721, i. 3. Paris. G. Eustace. 1517.
(Included in *Le mirouer exemplaire.* Secretum begins f. 118, a shortened form of No. 3 MS. version.)
(14) B.M. C. 31, b. 38. Paris. V. de Jehan S. Denys. 1540. 8 ff.
(Contains four seasons, four humours, physiognomy (not Secretum), and microcosm. 'Sensuyt le secret des secrets de Aristote Pour congnoistre les conditions des hommes et des femmes . . .')

English MS. Versions.

(1) B.M. 18 A. vii.
(Printed E.E.T.S. 1898; tr. from the French version 3.)
(2) Univ. Coll. Ox. 85. 2.
(3) Lamb. 501. Bodl. Laud. 685.
(Printed as above; tr. from the Latin vulgate.)
(4) Bodl. Ash. 396.
(5) Bodl. Rawl. B. 490. Lamb. Carew 596.
(Printed from both texts as above; tr. from the French no. 6 of Jofroi de Watreford by Young in 1422.)
(6) B.M. 5467.
(By John Shirley, unfinished, from the French.)
(7) By Gilbert Haye: from the French. (Printed S.T.S. 1914.)

Verse.

(1) Secrees of old Philosoffres.
(Printed E.E.T.S. 1894.)

(2) B.M. 17 D. iii. Poesye of Princely Practice. 1548.
(Extracts printed by Herrtage in Starkey's *England in Henry VIII's time*, pt. 1.)

Printed Versions.

1528. The Secrete of Secretes of Arystotle with the Governale of Prynces and every maner of Estate. Newly translated and emprynted by Robert Copland. 4º.
(Sayle 339.)

1572. Unknown edition, mentioned in 1702 ed.

1702. Aristotle's Secret of Secrets contracted: being the sum of his advice to Alexander the Great about the Preservation of Health and Government. London, for H. Walwyn.
(Contains—much abbreviated—sections b, d, f, g, A, D, i, k, l, m, n, o, q.)

Welsh Versions.

Two abbreviated versions of the *Physiognomy* are contained in the B.M. MSS. 14912 and 15034.

A Welsh version, of the Hispalensis tract apparently, is found in Jes. Col. Ox. MS. 22 (3).

Early Dutch Versions.

There are two editions of a translation by Jacob Van Maerlant, made between 1266 and 1291 (according to Jonckbloet).

The first, entitled 'De Heimelijkheid der Heimelijkheiden', was published in 1838 by Clarisse in the *Nieuwe Werken van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, iv. deel, Dordrecht.

The second is entitled 'Heymelichede der Heymelicheit', and was published by Kausler in the *Denkmäler altniederländischer Sprache*, Bd. II, p. 483, Tübingen 1844.

The translation follows an abbreviated text of Phillip's version up to about p. 149 of our text.

German MS. Versions.[1]

(Most of these are from the tract of Johannes Hispalensis.)

(1) *inc.* Alexander so du des morigens. Haupt, p. 506.

[1] From Haupt, *Arzneibuch des Meisters Bartholomaeus, Wien. Sitzb.* 71, 506.

(2) MS. 3217 Vienna.
inc. Alexander so dv von dem slaff. Haupt, p. 511.
(3) MS. 4762 Vienna.
inc. wan du auf stest dez margens. Haupt, p. 512.
(4) MS. 1244 (4) Leipzig Univ. (14th cent.)
inc. Allexander des morgens also dv uf stes. Haupt, p. 513.
(5) Leipzig 934 (4) Verse.
(6) MS. 4120 Vienna. Middle German. Verse. Haupt, p. 514.
(7) MS. 349 Munich.
(8) MS. Heidelberg cod. Pal. germ. 539. Physiognomy. Verse.
(9) MS. 288 Munich (A.D. 1282); for frater Rudolf von Kaishem. Prose. Haupt, 1.
(10) MS. 2984 Vienna. Middle German. Verse.

Printed Text.

Das alleredlest und bewertest Regiment der Gesundheit . . . . . ., translated by Dr. Johann Loschner, zu Spalt. Heinrich Stagner. Augspurg, Dec. 28, 1530.

Seventy-one caps. (Sections b, d, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, (oculis) n, o, q, r, (nine medicines) t, Q, C, H, I, K, F, G, L, V.)

Toischer[1] cites another copy of this. 'Gedruckt zu Augspurg durch Heynrich Stagner am 1 tag Martii des M.D. xxxi Jars.' Haupt (p. 515) quotes a 1532 edition.

Italian MS. Versions.

(1) B.M. 11899. 15th cent. *inc.* Al suo singniore excelentissimo nella religione cristiana perfettissimo messere guido di valenza glorioso vesscovo . . . . *expl.* Conpiuto istratto de sengni e de costumi naturali delgli uomeni algrande Re Alesandro, el quale singnioreggio tutto lo mondo, Amen.
(Eighty-five caps. b–d, f–p, r, t, s, O, R, A–L, v, w.) B.M. 39844 (1425) another copy.
(2) B.N. 77402. 14th cent. Marsand, ii. 12.
(3) B.N. 7740. 15th cent. Marsand, i. 89.
(4) Laurent. 14th cent. Bandini, v. 303.[2]
(5) Laurent. 15th cent. Bandini, v. 234.

Neapolitan Versions.

(6) B.N. 7728. Marsand, i. 75.

[1] See for these Toischer, *Die altdeutschen Bearbeitungen der . . . Secreta Secretorum*, Prag, 1884.

[2] But see Ciccioni, *Propugnatore*, N.S. ii. 90 sqq., for others.

(7) B.N. 7729. Marsand, i. 75.
(By Giovanni Cola from the Catalan.)

(8) Naples B.N. xiii G. 37, printed by Mussafia, is founded on Johannes Hispalensis.[1]

PRINTED VERSIONS.

Il segreto de segreti, le Moralita, & la Phisionomia d'Aristotile . . . . fatti nuovamente volgari per Giovanni Manente. Vinegia per Zuan Tacuino da Trino. 1538.

(Contains the *Secreta Secretorum* in seven books, with interpolations and omissions, eleven books of ethics, and the physiognomy of the *Secretum*. The text of Books I–IV corresponds with pp. 40–105^{3}, omitting 'de viperis' and the Pliny note, and interpolating the properties of seven herbs. Book V begins at p. 123^{9}, and Book VI finishes p. 157^{27}. Book VII is not from the *Secretum*.)

Another edition. 1669. 12°.

An Italian version of the Hispalensis tract is included in 'L'Ethica d'Aristotile ridotta in compendio da Ser Brunetto Latini et altre traduttioni et scritti di quei tempi'. Lyons, Tornes, 1568 (several times reprinted).

inc. (p. 64) 'O Alexander conciosia cosa che luomo sia corpo corruptibile conviene . . . . *expl.* (p. 69^{26}) 'usare la femina oltre misura, paura, tristitia, auere spesso, et tutte altre molte cose che anno a indebolire il corpo delluomo.'

This version is printed by Puccinotti, *Storia della Medicina*, ii. 1, Doc., p. 2.

The Hispalensis tract was adopted by Taddeus de Florentia and published under his name as *Monita extracta de libris medicinalibus.* It is printed with Benedict of Nursia's *Opus de conservanda sanitate*, Bologna, 1477, and in Puccinotti (l. c., Doc., p. v) from a MS. in the Ambrosian Library. Another Italian version from a Laurentian MS. is printed by him (Doc., p. xliv).

William of Saliceto incorporates the 'seasons' from this tract in his 'Summa'.

SPANISH VERSIONS.[2]

Secreto Secretorum que compuso Aristoteles por mandado de Alexandro magno traducido al castellano.

(14th cent. See Amador de los Rios, v. 251, note 1.)

[1] *Wien. Sitzb.* 106, 563.

[2] From Knust, *Jahrbuch f. R. Litt.* x. 153, 275, 304.

Libro de Aristotiles, del regimiento de los principes o de los señores de los secretos o cartas de Aristotiles a Alexandre. (15th cent.)

Secretos de Aristoteles y documentos de principes, traducidos de Latin en nuestro vulgar Castellano por el Maestro Joan Baptista de Herrera. . . . . Año de 1621.

Catalan Version.

Lo libre apellat de regiment de senyors en altra guisa apellat secret dels secrets ordonat per Aristotil al gran rey Alexandre. (See Codex Canon 147, Bodleian, ff. 82b–108.)

Limousin Version.

(See *Jahrbuch*, x. 155.)

From the Hebrew Version of the Western Form.

(*Jahrbuch*, x. 303, xii. 372.)

Poridad de las Poridades . . . . (in eight books).

This list of Manuscript and Printed Versions has no pretensions to being complete.

Arrangement of the Text.

Bacon's division into books is entirely his own, and will not assist students in references to other editions or to the manuscripts of the *Secretum*. The original division of the Latin text into books is also of very little use, as they are of such unequal length: and its allocation into chapters varies from manuscript to manuscript. The text here printed has however the advantage that its order is not interfered with, and that the division into chapters follows that of the majority of manuscripts. I have therefore placed in the margin a section letter, which has no manuscript authority, but is intended solely to facilitate reference: it will in future be used in this introduction.

Preliminary Matter.

Sections a–d.

This consists of the dedication by Philip of Tripoli to his patron, and the list of chapters (a), two chapters containing the preface to the Arabic text of the work (b, c), and the introduction of the pseud-Aristotle (d).

The dedication in this text and that of B.N. 6584 (Sicilian) is 'Guidoni Vere de Valencia civitatis metropolis glorioso pontifici'. There is no such bishop of Valence, or of Vienne its metropolitan city. Other texts give forms which are plainly corruptions, as, for

example, 'Guidoni viro', 'Guidoni de Valencia civitatis Tripolis', 'Guidoni civitatis Tripolis', 'Guidoni de Valencia vere civitatis Tripolis', &c. Bacon adds the information that his see was Naples. If the Archbishop really was a member of the Vere family, our search is restricted to England and Northern France, and as Guy de Vere is known to have been a benefactor to the order of St. John of Jerusalem a sort of shadowy connexion may be said to exist. The constant manuscript tradition which connects Philip with Tripoli, and the reference to Antioch, may be explained by the identification already suggested (p. xix). It seems a pity that nothing is known of a prelate who, allowing for the enthusiasm of a dedicator, must still have been a man of unusual parts.

The chapter headings on pp. 28–35 are much enlarged by Bacon from those usually found, and the division of subjects in the first paragraph on p. 28 is entirely his own.

The prologue of the Arabic translator gathers up a number of traditions of Aristotle, current in his day, which, as will be seen from the notes, had become attached to other names. It would almost seem as if the whole passage from 36^{13} to 38^{26} was an interpolation, as it interrupts the thread of the translator's story how he set about finding the *Secretum* (p. 36^{8}) and how he found the 'desideratum opus' (p. 39^{16}). In that case the interpolation must be of ancient date, as it is found, substantially unaltered, in the Western form. A certain number of Aristotle's letters—genuine or supposititious—are preserved in Greek, but these (p. 38) are not among them. A reference to the Arabic will show how much Philip misunderstood his text.

The story of the translator's visit to the temple of the Sun built by Aesculapius (or Hermes) is a commonplace of Eastern prefaces, and has been the principal reason for assuming, not only that the work itself is supposititious, but that it had no connexion with Yuhanna ibn al-Batrik.

The original *Secretum*—the Syriac text, if there ever was one—must have begun at p. 40. The notion of a secret doctrine and an enigmatical mode of teaching is quite Greek. See, for example, the letter of Plato to Dionysius in Macrobius, 'Per enigmata de talibus esse dicendum,' or as quoted in Fernelius, l. 1, c. 10 *de abditis rerum*, 'Dicendum est igitur sed per aenygmata, &c.'

Section e, which follows in the Arabic, but not in the Latin translation, gives the list of discourses and their contents. It will

be seen that both in the Eastern and the Western forms the list is identically the same, varying only in the distribution into seven, eight, or ten discourses. It is evident that its place in the interior of the work preserved it from interpolation to be an important evidence of the original form of the *Secretum*.

Discourse I.

Section f.

This section is undoubtedly of Greek origin—either Byzantine or Alexandrian, though we can trace no exact equivalent for it. The classification of the four kinds of kings is traditionally attributed to Pythagoras, and the whole first chapter of the section is but an amplification of the virtues of a king as described by Cicero—*pro rege Dei.* 9. 26 'Fortem, justum, severum, gravem, magnanimum, largum, beneficum, et liberalem esse, hae sunt regiae laudes.'

Perhaps the most interesting feature of this section is the introduction of a quotation from an otherwise unknown Hermetic book. Several others are scattered through the *Secretum*, and they will be brought together in a separate note. Personally I consider them to be of Alexandrian origin.

The story of the revolt of the people of Hanayaj (which I cannot identify) has been much enlarged by the introduction of the Divine interposition (p. 44^{22-28}), which was not in the original.

A comparison of the Arabic and Latin texts from this point on will reveal a tendency on the part of Philip to round off his sentences and amplify them without much regard to his text.

Discourse II.

Sections g–t ; v.

This discourse, which runs from p. 47 to p. 110, and from p. 164 to p. 172 in the Latin text, includes in its original form only fifteen of them, i. e. to p. 62. The remainder of it consists of interpolations which in the Western text have in some cases been added at the end of the original work, in others from no part of it. It is this distinction which has led me to the conclusion that the Western text is not an abbreviation, as Professor Foerster thought it, but one which is itself an enlargement of the original text. The study of the 'gate' of Physiognomy, to which Professor Foerster restricted himself, would indeed by itself justify his conclusion, but the differences between the two forms of the Physiognomy are quite as compatible

with the theory of its independent origin and subsequent adoption. Pages 114–23, which are included in Book II of the Latin version, rightly belong to the end of Discourse X—the 'dictio decima'.

Sections g and h I take to be mainly Greek in character, perhaps modified by the compiler, as shown by the introduction of the example of the kings of India, which is a commonplace of Eastern authors. A number of Hermetic quotations—all hitherto unknown—are included (pp. 52^{26}, 55^{31}, 57^{9}). The last of these has been adopted by Mohammedan theology, which tells of the katibun Kirāmun—the illustrious writers. They are mentioned in the Quran, *Surat*, 82. 50 a, 'Yet truly these are guardians over you, illustrious recorders, cognizant of your actions.' The spirit on the left is the recording angel of evil according to the *Mishkāt*, iv. 8. 1.

The story of the poison maiden has been treated at length by Hertz in the *Abhandlungen d. k. bayr. Akad. Wiss.* Cl. I. xx. Bd. 1. 91, who has treated the subject exhaustively, and considers it of Persian origin. The story is referred to by Razis, *Continens,* xx. 2 (f. 413^{c}, ed. 1506), by Avicenna, Canon iv, Fen. 6, t. 1, c. 2, and by the commentator of Isaac. It is one of the tales of the *Gesta Romanorum.* The story of the Greek maiden (p. 58) has already been referred to. P. 51^{8} is a Gnostic idea, see Hippolytus (tr. Macmahon), p. 145.

Section h, the only part of the original treatise devoted to astrology, is Greek in character, and quite contrasted to the passages due to later insertions. Philip was evidently a firm believer in the science, for he has dealt with an argument against it founded on the divine foreknowledge, and asserts 'cuncta sunt scibilia in via racionis'. The reference to Plato requires an elucidation I am unable to give. It is evidently some cryptic saying of the Eastern schools.

Section i, *de conservanda sanitate*, is not included at the end of the Western form and is thus shown to be a late addition. It is evidently written by an Eastern physician who (see p. 66^{16}) is familiar with Bedawin and ascetics. He holds by the doctrine of humours, but does not even name them.

Section k. *de regimine sanitatis.* This, with the following section l, *de calore naturali,* form the 12th 'gate' of our Western form, as translated into Hebrew, and the beginning of Discourse VII, *on medicine* of the Arabic text. This is the tract that with part of the introduction of *Yuhanna ibn al-Batrik* was translated by Johannes Hispalensis. The two sections are, however, separated in the Eastern Arabic text by sections *de divisione corporis*, and foods, water, and

wine, appearing as sections l and p. It would be of course just possible that Philip had before him a composite manuscript, but unless this manuscript also contained the translation of Johannes we can hardly account for the fact that Philip's translation is verbally the same excepting the interpolations necessary to make it represent the Eastern text.

The first paragraph (p. 68^{17-27}) is taken over from Hispalensis with the addition of some half-dozen words. In the second he adds about fourscore, some explanatory, as in p. 69^{8}, where the morning wash is restricted to hands and face, mouth, teeth, and head; sometimes destroying the sense, as when he adds 'in hyeme autem calida', the omission of which restores sense to the paragraph. It will be seen that paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 on p. 73, all of p. 74 after line 4, and the first two paragraphs on p. 75 are not in the Western version.

We are undoubtedly in the presence of a tract of Greek origin, and it is a curious coincidence, since one of the later sections (m) is derived from a treatise of the pseud-Diocles, that its subject-matter is identical with that of the treatise of Diocles on diet, preserved by Oribasius, and that it is not impossible that its main features are derived from it. As Fredrich says in his *Hippokratische Untersuchungen*, there is very little difference in any treatises on health from the seventh century before Christ to the eleventh after.

Note that the remedy of King David (p. 73^{10}) so much struck the imagination of Bacon that he recommends it in his book on Old Age.

The chapters on the seasons are particularly good examples of Philip's procedure. Take that on Spring (p. 76). Up to 'anni' is in the Eastern text, from there to 'eorundem' is Philip's amplification. The next sentence is taken over and amplified from the Western version. The lyric description of spring, only found in the Eastern text, is faithfully rendered until he reaches the statement that the life of the Bedawin becomes pleasant, for which he substitutes 'cantant aves, resonant philomene'.

The inclusion of these chapters on the seasons in a treatise on diet follows classical precedent, but the treatise as it stands in the Eastern version is clearly written in a country which has four regular seasons, and a temperate climate, perhaps in a hill country some considerable distance from the Mediterranean where classic writers recognized six seasons (Varro eight).

The astronomical statements—only found in the Eastern text—are very interesting. Their definiteness seems to point to an authoritative source on which they are based, but I have been quite unable to find any translated astronomer who gives such numbers. The length of the year as Bacon amends the text is 365 days, but substituting the true reading on p. 80[11]—89 days 14 hours—the length comes out as 365 days 6 hours 11 minutes (the true length is 365 d. 5 h. 48 m. 46 s.), Hipparchus giving it as 365 d. 6 h.; the number adopted by Bacon himself in the *Communia Naturalium* (p. 420).

The date for the vernal equinox—the beginning of the solar year—is March 22 (put in accordance with the Bononian computation as 'decima die exeunte Marcio'). In the Arabic the names of the months are given in their Syriac form, as is usual in astronomical works, since the lunar Arabic months are unsuitable for calculations. The date of the equinox was adopted as March 21 by the Council of Nicaea in 325, by 1079 it had shifted to March 14, and in Bacon's time to March 13. Bacon gives the date of the equinox at the Christian era as March 25 (*Op. Maj.* i. 271), which is that given by Hippocrates ('de hominis structura ad Perdicam'), and pseud-Diocles. Haly takes the equinox as March 17. A glance at the table below will show that the date in our text of March 22 for the equinox is not consistent with the other calculations given: it is probably a concession to the Christianity of the author of the treatise from which it was taken.

TABLE SHOWING VARIATION IN

	Spring begins.	*Length, Days.*	*Summer begins.*	*Length, Days.*	*Half-year, Length.*
Hippocrates, 300 B.C. / Pseud-Diocles	March 25	91	June 24	93	184
Hipparchus, 125 B.C.		$94\frac{1}{2}$		$92\frac{1}{2}$	187
Church reckoning	March 25	91	June 24	92	183
Ptolemy, A.D. 140	March 22				
Council of Nicaea, 356	March 21				
Bede, 735	March 18	92	June 17	91	183
Ibn Yunus, 832	March 17	93	June 17	92	185
Isaac, 932	March 17	95	June 19	90	185
Albategni, 929		93·14		$93·0\frac{3}{4}$	$186·14\frac{3}{4}$
Haly, 994	March 17	94	June 19	92	186
Sec. Secretorum	March 22	$92·23\frac{1}{4}$	June 23	$92·23\frac{1}{3}$	$186·22\frac{7}{12}$
Roger Bacon, 1268	March 13	93	June 14	94	187
As calculated for 1250		$93·6\frac{9}{10}$		93·7	$186·13\frac{9}{10}$
,, 1913	March 21	92·19·52		93·14·43	186·10·35

The length of the seasons is continually altering, and though our calendar has been reformed to keep the equinox at its proper date, the length of time during which the sun is north of the equator is always greater than that when he is south of the equator. A glance at the table shows that the length of spring and summer together varies between 183 and 187 days, and that of autumn and winter from 178 to 182. Prof. H. H. Turner informs me that the maximum difference between the two half-years is 7.788 days—7 d. 19 h. approximately, and Prof. C. L. Poor of Columbia University has calculated the true lengths of the seasons for 1250, which appear below, with a difference of 7 d. 22 h. On the other hand, M. Charles Nordmann of the Paris Observatoire has stated in print that towards 1250 the difference amounted to 36 days. There is evidently room for further study of the subject. Incidentally it appears that the solstice and the apogee coincided about 1246–7. Mr. Fotheringham calculates that the length here given of spring was true 17 B.C., of summer A.D. 723, of autumn A.D. 89, and winter A.D. 1256. The dates of the equinoxes and solstices are approximately true for the second century A.D.

The dates and the average lengths of the seasons given in the following table depend on observations of varying value. A method of interpretation seems to point to a date of observation somewhat near that of Haly Abbas, who was not an astronomer, but after that of Albategni who was. It has already been pointed out that the date of the equinox is incompatible with the lengths of the seasons given.

Calculated Lengths of Seasons.

Autumn begins.	*Length, Days.*	*Winter begins.*	*Length, Days.*	*Winter Half-year.*	*Difference in Days.*
Sep. 25	91	Dec. 25	90	181	3
	97	Jan. 1	84		
	$88\frac{1}{8}$		$90\frac{1}{8}$	$178\frac{1}{4}$	$8\frac{3}{4}$
Sep. 24	92	Dec. 25	90	182	1
		Dec. 22	90		
Sep. 17	92	Dec. 18	90	182	1
Sep. 18	90	Dec. 16	90	180	5
Sep. 18	90	Dec. 16	90	180	5
				$178 \cdot 14\frac{1}{2}$	8
Sep. 19	89	Dec. 16	90	179	7
Sep. 24	$88 \cdot 17\frac{3}{5}$	Dec. 22	89·14	$178 \cdot 7\frac{3}{5}$	$8\frac{5}{8}$
Sep. 16	88	Dec. 13	90	178	9
	$89 \cdot 8\frac{1}{60}$		$89 \cdot 7\frac{9}{10}$	$178 \cdot 15\frac{9}{10}$	$7\frac{1}{12}$
	89·18·42		89·0·33	178·19·15	$7\frac{5}{8}$

The following table is given by Fredrich, op. cit., p. 226:

	Spring.	*Summer.*	*Autumn.*	*Winter.*
	93	92 = 185	91	89/90 = 180
Pseud-Eudoxos	91	92 = 183	91	91/92 = 182
Demokritos	91	91 = 182	91	92 = 183
Euktemon	90	90 = 180	92	93 = 185
Kalippos	92	89 = 181	90	94 = 184

The Western form seems to have been modified a little by its passage through Africa somewhere about the eleventh or twelfth century. Johannes Hispalensis added to his version, at the end, the following paragraph, which was not in his text as far as we know: 'Quatuor equidem anni tempora per partes distinguntur, ut a medio Marcii usque ad medium Junii ver habeatur, a cujus medio usque ad medium Septembris estas computatur, a medio Septembris usque ad medium Decembris autumpnus, a medio Decembris usque ad medium Marcii, ubi ver incipit, hyemps habeatur.' Some texts of his version have been enlarged by additions from Philip's translation.

Section l, *de calore naturali*, is taken over (and expanded a little) by Philip from Johannes Hispalensis. Comparing it with his translation from the Eastern text lines 19–30 (p. 81) correspond almost word for word with cap. 20 (pp. 88–9), pp. 82^{1}–83^{8} with pp. 94^{22}–96^{2}.

The 'regula Ypocratis' has not been traced. We may conjecture that it was present in the copy of Hispalensis used by Philip, as it is found in all the manuscripts.

The paragraph beginning 'Curacio enim . . .' belongs to the next section and is usually found at the end of the 'de oculis', the words 'Habeatur semper venter laxus in omni egritudine ex replecione' being added.

Section m, *de divisione corporis*, is only found in the Eastern version, and is therefore a late addition. It is a translation of part of a tract by the pseud-Diocles, which is preserved for us at the end of the second book of Paulus Aegineta. It was translated into Latin half a dozen times in the sixteenth century, from apparently two differing texts, but was known in England in Anglo-Saxon. The treatise is nearly identical with that written for Maecenas by Antonius Musa, published in 1538, and resembles in some respects that of Soranus. The four parts of the body are the head, chest, belly, and genitals. Very early in the history of this translation of the *Secretum* a chapter 'de oculis' was substituted for that 'de ventre'. Bacon's

text is of this class. Much of it, but not all, is derived from Razis, otherwise no Arabic original is known.

What is curious is that while Philip's text nearly certainly had the 'de ventre', yet Mesue, while really quoting from Razis or some one of his school, attributes his quotations to Aristotle instructing Alexander, and actually gets near a quotation from p. 69^{1}.

Section n, *de conservantibus sanitatem*, is of unknown origin, though lines 1 and 2 of p. 88 are found in Razis. It is difficult to understand the fact that nearly every good manuscript of the *Secretum* omits lines 22 and 23, 'Indus dixit . . .', though they are in the Arabic text. It may be conjectured that they had been accidentally omitted in the reviser's text.

Who was the man of royal and imperial family (p. 88^{25}) who used figs and rue as an antidote? Was it, by chance, Henry III's brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans (1250), or Charles of Anjou?

Section o, *de cibis*. This section derives from some as yet unidentified source: its author is of the school of Razis. There is nothing like it in Serapion, Isaac, Haly, or Mesue. It quotes (90^{14}) from a 'liber de pulmentis et medicinis' not yet identified. The precepts as to drinking water are, generally, similar to those of Greek physicians. The chapter on wine is evidently not Mohammedan, and is much enlarged by Philip.

Section p, *de corroborantibus et macerantibus*. As Bacon remarks, this section is a repetition of section n, this time from the Eastern version.

Section q, *de balneo*. This seems to be the first account in European languages of the Hammam or Turkish Bath as we know it. Avicenna (I. i. 2–19) describes only three chambers of the bath, the first cooling and moistening, the second warming and moistening, the third warming and drying. This arrangement resembles that of the Roman baths, and his system is evidently founded on the current treatises of Galen and Hippocrates.

Section r (pp. 98–104), *de medicinis*. In this section we have a receipt for a panacea. The various prescriptions are noticeable for the comparatively small number of ingredients they contain, when compared with any of the better known formularies, or those preserved in Budge's Syriac Book of Medicine. It is curious that Philip omits mention of the pulse, which should come where he speaks of 'signis precedentibus' (p. 98^{8}). The book 'de pulsibus'

referred to in the Arabic text has yet to be identified. The 'de aquis' in line 13 is, as the Arabic text shows, 'de urinis'. The 'de medicinis compositis' has already been referred to (p. 90[14]).

The names of the eight physicians who invented this wonderful medicine present some difficulty in the way of identification. Here are some lists.

(1) Esculapius, (2) Hermogenes medicus, (3) Hirfos, (4) Donasties, (5) Vatildos, (6) Hebrei, (7) Dioris, (8) Caraus.

(1) Ascalanus, (2) Nasiurus, (3) Ailin, (4) Dunntanas, (5) Kutarus.

(1) Aflanus, (2) Nasyoras, (3) Hermes the second, (4) Bartomali, (5) Dadastius, (6) Ablac, (7) Robaris, (8) Fataria.

(1) Estefan, (2) Djasious, (3) Ankilaus, (4) Marinous, (5) Theodose, (6) Afladious, (7) Johannes.

Compare these lists with the names of the eight great physicians in the *Kitab al Fihrist* (p. 286).

(1) Askolapius the first, (2) Ghurus, (3) Minus, (4) Barmamdos, (5) Plato the doctor, (6) Askolapius the second, (7) Hippocrates the second, who took hold on souls, (8) Jalenus, the meaning of which is 'the silent'.

Section s, *de viperis*. This section has not yet been found in any Arabic text of the *Secretum*, and is in only a few Latin ones. In nearly all of these it follows section t. The greater part of it, all that is ordinarily found, is taken directly from Avicenna (1037), who probably took it from Razis (d. 932), *Ad Almansorem*, t. 8, c. 2. Bacon added the first paragraph and some further extracts. Similar passages are found in Serapion, tr. vii (f. 63^{v}, ed. 1525): see also Haly ii. 2. 52 and Galen, *de antidotis*, pp. 193–6 (ed. 1560).

Section t (pp. 108–10), *de regimine medicine per astronomiam*. This chapter, which occurs only in the Eastern version, is interesting as an early document in the extension of astrology to medicine which became general in Europe at the end of the thirteenth century, and is there attributed by Dr. Rashdall to the influence of the University of Bologna—Cecco d'Ascoli summing it up thus[1]: 'Medicus sine Astrologia est quasi oculus qui non est in potentia ad operationem.'

There is no trace of this influence in the great classics of Arabic medicine. In some of them the old belief that the quantity of humours increased and decreased with the waxing and waning of the moon, which was held by Galen and his school, appears in connexion with sanitary blood-letting, but nothing more.

[1] But quoting from Hipparchus.

It was the astrologers who made the extension. If the moon influenced the blood, then any position of the heavens which modified its powers, for better or worse, would necessarily affect that influence.

Philip, or his copyist, was evidently not an astrologer, as is evident by the mistake on line 16 'Mercurius' for Mars: an astrologer would have used the symbol and avoided the possibility of error from the use of a contraction in writing. All the Arabic texts give 13° instead of 4° or 6° in line 11, and instead of Taurus, Cancer, Pisces, and Gemini in line 12 give Sagittarius, Aquarius, Capricorn, and Gemini.

As to cupping, Philip's text directly contradicts the original as regards the age of the Moon, which should be in its first fortnight, and again puts Mercury for Mars (l. 7): in line 8 'Mercurius' should be Jupiter. Lines 9 and 10 are a complete mistranslation.

In the paragraph as to laxative medicines the text is abbreviated. The mistake as to Mercury is repeated (p. 119[1]).

The final paragraph on p. 110 with the sphere on p. 111 is not part of the original *Secretum* as we have it in any Arabic manuscript. None of the Latin manuscripts known to me contain the sphere except those which derive from the Bacon text. The table on p. 112 may be of Bacon's composition. Bacon's treatise on Astrology (*Op. Maj.* i. 376) may be compared.

Section u (pp. 217–18), *de musica*. A short section, on the curative power of music in mental diseases, is not translated in any Latin version known. It is followed in the Arabic by the section on Physiognomy. When the original tenth book (Eastern version) was broken up, a part of it (sections O and P) was brought here to change places with the Physiognomy.

Section O (pp. 114–17), *de alchimia*. We have no Arabic original for the first paragraph of this section, which looks as if it had been written by the editors of Philip when it was transferred to this place and broken off from the first part of the book (pp. 157–63). The 'de lapidibus' referred to (l. 23) is printed by Rose in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, xviii. N.F. vi (1875), pp. 349 sqq. It has a preface resembling that of the *Secretum* and purports to have been translated from Greek into Syriac. The 'de plantis' is probably the well-known work of that name translated early in the thirteenth century from the Arabic into Latin by Alfredus Anglicus de Sareshel, and printed by Meyer in 1841.

From this point (p. 114[25]) on we have one of the earliest and

most important pronouncements of theoretical alchemy. Its immediate success is shown by the number of quotations made from it by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. Page 114[27] is cited by a very early work on alchemy—the 'liber Kalid': 'Ut dixit philosophus in suo libro quando nominat eum sic: Accipe lapidem non lapidem, vel qui non est lapis, nec est de natura lapidis: et est lapis cujus minera generatur in capite montium. Et philosophus voluit dicere montes pro animal'. Page 115[13] is quoted and commented on in the Book of El Habib, published by Berthelot, *Hist. des Sciences du Moyen Age*, iii. 96: 'Aristote disait à Rouious, fils de Platon: Recevez mes paroles: prenez l'œuf, séparez-en l'esprit, traitez-le avec l'eau du fleuve, et la chaleur du soleil dans l'aludel; puis partagez le produit en ses différentes parties. Quand vous aurez séparé l'air de l'eau, l'eau du feu, le feu de la terre, prenez le cuivre, divisez-le et broyez-le avec l'humidité du produit: traitez ensuite jusqu'à ce qu'il devienne blanc. Quand le cuivre sera devenu blanc, traitez-le avec l'eau de soufre, jusqu'à ce qu'il devienne rouge. Quand le métal sera rouge, placez-le dans une chambre chaude, pour le transformer en or.' See also Comarius in the *Collection des alchimistes grecs*, trad., p. 285. There are countless later explanations of this paragraph; see, for example, that in the *Rosarium Philosophorum*, p. 267.

The ordinary printed texts (Achillini's edition) insert here two chapters from the Hebrew translation of the Western version which will be found on pp. 173–4. The first gives a different theory of Alchemy, the second describes a magic ring. They are not found in any Arabic text that I know of. Achillini also removed section P from its place and printed it before this section.

From this point to the end of the section is the famous Emerald Table of Hermes, which appears here in its earliest known form. It has every appearance of considerable antiquity and is probably of Egyptian origin, passing through Byzantine treatises. There are several distinct translations of it current, but this is probably the best, as it is, on the whole, the simplest. The Arabic text appears to have received some additions.

The following are some of the forms in which it is found:

1. Veritas ita se habet et non est dubium.
   Verum sine mendacio certum et verissimum.
   Verum est et ab omni mendaciorum involucro remotum.
   Vere non ficte, certo verissimeque aio.

2. Quod inferiora superioribus et superiora inferioribus respondent.
 Quod est inferius est sicut quod est superius, et quod est superius est sicut quod est inferius.
 Quodcunque inferius est simile est ejus quod est superius.
 Inferiora hac cum superioribus illis, istaque cum iis vicissim veres sociant.

3. Operator miraculorum unus solus est Deus, a quo descendit omnis operacio mirabilis.
 Ad perpetranda miracula res unius.
 Per hoc acquiruntur et perficiuntur mirabilia operis unius rei, ut producant rem unam omnium mirificissimam.

4. Sic omnes res generantur ab una sola substancia, una sua sole disposicione.
 Et sicut omnes res fuerunt ab uno meditatione unius, sic omnes res natae fuerunt ab hac una re adaptatione.
 Quemadmodum etiam omnia ex uno fiunt per considerationem unius ita omnia ex uno hoc facta sunt per conjunctionem.
 Acquemadmodum cuncta educta ex uno fuere verbo Dei Unius, sic omnes quoque res perpetuo ex hac una re generantur disposicione Naturae.

5. Quarum pater est Sol, quarum mater est Luna.
 Pater ejus est sol, mater ejus luna.
 Pater ejus est sol, mater luna.
 Patrem ea habet solem, matrem lunam.

6. Que portavit ipsam naturam per auram in utero, terra impregnata est ab ea.
 Portavit illud ventus in ventre suo, nutrix ejus terra est.
 Ventus in utero gestavit, nutrix ejus est terra.
 Ab aere in utero quasi gestatur, nutritur a terra.

7. Hinc dicitur Sol causatorum pater, thesaurus miraculorum, largitor virtutum.
 Pater omnis thelesmi (coelestini) totius mundi est hic. Vis ejus integra est.
 Mater omnis perfectionis. Potentia ejus perfecta est.
 Causa omnis perfectionis rerum ea est per universum hoc.

8. Ex igne facta est terra.
 Si versa fuerit in terram.
 Si mutatur in terram.
 Ad summum ipsa perfectionem virium pervenit si redierit in humum.

9. Separa terrenum ab igneo, quia subtile dignius est grosso, et rarum spisso. Hoc fit sapienter et discrete.
 Separabis terram ab igne, subtile a spisso suaviter cum magno ingenio.
 Terram ab igne separato subtile et tenue a grosso et crasso, et quidem prudenter cum modestia et sapientia.

In partes tribuito humum ignem passam, attenuant densitatem ejus re omnium suavissima.

10. Ascendit enim de terra in celum, et ruit de celo in terram, et inde interficit superiorem et inferiorem virtutem.

Ascendit ⟨lapis⟩ a terra in coelum, iterumque descendit in terram, et recipit vim superiorum et inferiorum.

In hoc a terra ascendit, in coelum hoc a terra, et a coelo rursus in terram descendit, et potentiam et efficaciam superiorum et inferiorum recipit.

Summa ascende ingenii sagacitate a terra in coelum, indeque rursum in terram descende ac vires superiorum inferiorumque coge in unum.

11. Sic ergo dominatur inferioribus et superioribus, et tu dominaberis sursum et deorsum, tecum est lux luminum, et propter hoc fugient a te omnes tenebre.

Sic habebis gloriam totius mundi, ideo fugiat a te omnis obscuritas

(Et ita habebis gloriam claritatis totius mundi, et a te fugiet omnis obscuritas).

Hoc modo acquiris gloriam totius mundi, propulsabis igitur tenebras omnes et coecitatem.

Sic potiere gloria totius mundi; atque ita abjectae sortis homo amplius non habere.

12. Virtus superior vincit omnia.

Hic est totius fortitudinis fortitudo fortis.

Haec enim fortitudo omni alia fortitudine ac potentiae palmam praeripiens.

Ita haec jam res ipsa fortitudine fortior existet.

13. Omne enim rarum agit in omne densum.

Quia vincet omnem rem subtilem, omnemque solidam penetrabit.

Omnia namque subtilia et crassa duraque penetrare ac subigere potest.

Corpora quippe tam tenuia quam solida penetrando subige.

14. Et secundum disposicionem majoris mundi currit hec operacio.

Sic mundus creatus est.

Hoc mundus hic conditus est.

Atque sic quidem quaecunque mundus continet creata fuere.

15. Et propter hoc vocatur Hermogenes triplex in philosophia.

(Ita erunt in re ista adaptationes et dispositiones mirabiles.) Hinc adaptationes erunt mirabiles quarum modus est hic. Itaque vocatus sum Hermes Trismegistus, habens tres partes Philosophiae totius mundi.

Et hinc conjunctiones ejus mirabiles et effectus mirandi; cum haec via sit per quam haec mira efficiantur. Et propter hoc Hermetis Trismegisti nomine me appellarunt: cum

habeam partes tres sapientiae et Philosophicae universi mundi.

Hinc admiranda evadunt opera, quae ad eundem modum instituuntur. Mihi vero ideo nomen Hermetis Trismegisti impositum fuit, quod trium mundi Sapientiae partium Doctor deprehensus sum.

Section P (pp. 118–23), *de lapidibus et vegetabilibus.* The chapter on wonderful stones is taken from the Arabic form of the 'de lapidibus' already referred to (p. xlvii), as the following extracts show.

357[28]. Est quidam alter lapis qui se gestantem exaltat inter homines, et hunc nominavimus in alio loco.

376[12]. Expositio lapidis qui occultatur de die et apparet de nocte. Iste lapis invenitur in mari hyspania prope Offanos. Et istud est mare quod nominavimus in hoc libro quod crescit in uno tempore anni et exit ripas . . .

376[30]. Nunc nominabimus quendam lapidem quem laudare volumus. Iste lapis levis est supernatans aque, de nocte separatur a fundo aque ad superficium ejus id est super faciem aque apparet de nocte. Et quando sol incipit oriri et lapis immergitur in aquam ne tangatur a sole descendens ad fundum deductus nunc dextrorsum nunc sinistrorsum undis et vento donec in fundo perveniens in aliquo loco terre quiescat. Et quando sol iterum incipit declinari et lapis incipit elevari paulatim sic ut post solis occasum supra aquam appareat. Si quis acceperit ex hoc lapide tres dragmas et collis equorum suspendat non poterunt hinnire quamdiu ad collum habuerint lapidem suspensum. Idem quoque accidit de aliis bestiis. Nam quecunque lapidem ad collem suum suspensum habuerit non poterit vociferare vel mugire quamdiu eum ita tulerit. Alexander precepit hominibus sui exercitus quod animalibus suis adaptarent hos lapides ut dictum est, ut animalibus non facientibus tumultum clamoris, non haberet Alexander impedimentum donec esset supra inimicos suos nutu Dei.

Expositio lapidis qui occultatur de nocte et apparet de die . . . Bonitas si quidem hujus lapidis est quod si suspensus fuerit collo bestie non cessabit clamare secundum proprietatem sui soni quamdiu ad collum habuerit de die et de nocte.

Chapter III on marvellous plants (pp. 119–21) has an interesting account of the action of the planets on vegetable life. It is somewhat noteworthy that in the Arabic text the principle of fluidity is attributed to Jupiter, contrary to the whole scheme of astrological theory. Philip restores it to Mercury.

Chapter IV (pp. 121–3) with its list of magic plants defies

annotation. It is the last chapter of the *Secretum* in its original form, lines 3–6 being the final paragraph of the tenth Discourse.

Section A (pp. 123–6), *de justicia*. Discourse III. This section seems to have been the whole of Discourse III of the original *Secretum*, though in the Vulgate Latin text section B, 'de exitu rerum' (pp. 127–32), is included in the third Book: in both the Western and Eastern texts it forms part of Discourse IV. The Western text is much shorter than the Eastern, the passage between 124^{6} and 125^{10} having been inserted. As will be seen from the variants in the Arabic version this passage has been the subject of considerable revision: it is an attempt to state, in philosophical terms, the relationship of Justice to the Deity. Philip, if the text before him at all resembled any we have, has considerably enlarged the argument, and in some places misunderstood it, and Bacon in his glosses entirely misses the original meaning.

Apart from this passage, the section is most probably of Persian origin. Lines 123^{26} sqq. may be paralleled with the following from the *Prairies d'Or*, ii. 155: 'Ardéshir disait aussi: Un roi doit donner un libre cours à sa justice. La justice est la source de tous les biens; c'est une citadelle élevée pour la défense de l'État et le maintien de l'ordre; le déni de justice est le premier symptôme de la ruine d'un pays.' The inscription in Syriac (p. 124^{5}) and the counsels of Ardéshir to his son Sabur on his accession to the throne, from the same work (ii. 162), also run on similar lines: 'Sachez, ô mon fils, que la religion et la royauté sont deux sœurs qui ne peuvent exister l'une sans l'autre . . .' In p. 124^{3} and 124^{20} the Vulgate text gives the correct reading.

The most interesting part of the section is the philosophic diagram, divided into degrees, showing the government of the world. The proper arrangement of the diagram is shown in the note on p. 126, but Philip's text evidently was not drawn up in that form, and no Latin text known to me has it. As a result Bacon's gloss is altogether beside the point. The form in which this collection of sayings appears is usually that of Aristotle's grave. Hunain ibn Ishak, in his Aphorisms of philosophers and physicians, thus recounts it. 'When Aristotle came to die he gave an order that an octagonal building should be raised over his tomb, and that on the eight sides of it eight mottoes touching all that serves the advantage of mankind should be written. (1) The world is a garden whose edge is fortune. (2) Fortune is a sovereign protected by firmness. (3) Firmness is government

directed by the king. (4) The king is a guardian aided by troops. (5) Troops are helpers nourished by treasure. (6) Treasure is goods amassed by subjects. (7) Subjects are slaves subjugated by Justice. (8) Justice is a custom on which depends the peace of the world.' Sanguinetti, *Journal Asiatique*, ser. v. (1856) 8, p. 352.

Another form occurs in the Placita Philosophorum of John of Procida. (1) 'Mundus iste est quidam ortus, et ejus fossata sunt regna. (2) Regna vero manutenentur per leges. (3) Leges statuit rex, (4) Rex vero per militiam suam tenetur. (5) Militia vero pecunia gubernatur. (6) Pecunia autem a populo colligitur. (7) Populus vero est justitia servus. (8) Justitia vero regitur mundus.' Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*, iii. 117.

It is noteworthy that the Placita Philosophorum is said to be translated from the Greek by John of Procida at Salerno, so that there may be a Byzantine origin for this diagram.

The Arabic tradition is preserved by Al Makin in his Universal History.

'And Aristotle wrote in the book which hath been mentioned admonitions which would instruct a man in the doing of justice, and he said therein that justice is the strength of the world, that it is the chief of all virtues, that wealth and armies increase through it, and that nations become subject through it; he said, morevover, that justice maketh a man to show himself friendly, and that it is the strong prop of the world. Now he likened the world unto a garden, the wall of which is kingship, and kingship is the knowledge which maketh the king to administer wisely his dominions. The king is the man who should help his army, and the king who is helped by his army shall gather together for it wealth and possessions; riches shall make a nation to gather together unto themselves benefits: uprightness shall make slaves to submit unto a (free) people; and let integrity be the working power in the beginning of thy words and in the end thereof. Know too that by it the whole world standeth, and that by the excellence thereof cities are founded, and wealth is gathered together, and that soldiers and armies increase thereby and serve a people.' Budge, *Alexander*, ii, p. 383.

Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) in his Prolegomena (*Notices et Extraits*, xix. 80) preserves another tradition.

p. 80. Dans la fable du hibou, telle qu'elle est rapportée par Masoudi, le moubedan dit, entre autres choses, à Behram, fils de Behram: 'O roi, le souverain n'arrive au faîte de la puissance que par l'observation de la loi, par une submission entière à Dieu et par l'exactitude à respecter ses commandements et ses prohibitions. La loi ne peut subsister sans le souverain: le souverain n'est puissant que

annotation. It is the last chapter of the *Secretum* in its original form, lines 3–6 being the final paragraph of the tenth Discourse.

Section A (pp. 123–6), *de justicia*. Discourse III. This section seems to have been the whole of Discourse III of the original *Secretum*, though in the Vulgate Latin text section B, 'de exitu rerum' (pp. 127–32), is included in the third Book: in both the Western and Eastern texts it forms part of Discourse IV. The Western text is much shorter than the Eastern, the passage between 124^6 and 125^{10} having been inserted. As will be seen from the variants in the Arabic version this passage has been the subject of considerable revision: it is an attempt to state, in philosophical terms, the relationship of Justice to the Deity. Philip, if the text before him at all resembled any we have, has considerably enlarged the argument, and in some places misunderstood it, and Bacon in his glosses entirely misses the original meaning.

Apart from this passage, the section is most probably of Persian origin. Lines 123^{26} sqq. may be paralleled with the following from the *Prairies d'Or*, ii. 155: 'Ardéshir disait aussi: Un roi doit donner un libre cours à sa justice. La justice est la source de tous les biens; c'est une citadelle élevée pour la défense de l'État et le maintien de l'ordre; le déni de justice est le premier symptôme de la ruine d'un pays.' The inscription in Syriac (p. 124^5) and the counsels of Ardéshir to his son Sabur on his accession to the throne, from the same work (ii. 162), also run on similar lines: 'Sachez, ô mon fils, que la religion et la royauté sont deux sœurs qui ne peuvent exister l'une sans l'autre . . .' In p. 124^3 and 124^{20} the Vulgate text gives the correct reading.

The most interesting part of the section is the philosophic diagram, divided into degrees, showing the government of the world. The proper arrangement of the diagram is shown in the note on p. 126, but Philip's text evidently was not drawn up in that form, and no Latin text known to me has it. As a result Bacon's gloss is altogether beside the point. The form in which this collection of sayings appears is usually that of Aristotle's grave. Hunain ibn Ishak, in his Aphorisms of philosophers and physicians, thus recounts it. 'When Aristotle came to die he gave an order that an octagonal building should be raised over his tomb, and that on the eight sides of it eight mottoes touching all that serves the advantage of mankind should be written. (1) The world is a garden whose edge is fortune. (2) Fortune is a sovereign protected by firmness. (3) Firmness is government

directed by the king. (4) The king is a guardian aided by troops. (5) Troops are helpers nourished by treasure. (6) Treasure is goods amassed by subjects. (7) Subjects are slaves subjugated by Justice. (8) Justice is a custom on which depends the peace of the world.' Sanguinetti, *Journal Asiatique*, ser. v. (1856) 8, p. 352.

Another form occurs in the Placita Philosophorum of John of Procida. (1) 'Mundus iste est quidam ortus, et ejus fossata sunt regna. (2) Regna vero manutenentur per leges. (3) Leges statuit rex, (4) Rex vero per militiam suam tenetur. (5) Militia vero pecunia gubernatur. (6) Pecunia autem a populo colligitur. (7) Populus vero est justitia servus. (8) Justitia vero regitur mundus.' Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*, iii. 117.

It is noteworthy that the Placita Philosophorum is said to be translated from the Greek by John of Procida at Salerno, so that there may be a Byzantine origin for this diagram.

The Arabic tradition is preserved by Al Makin in his Universal History.

'And Aristotle wrote in the book which hath been mentioned admonitions which would instruct a man in the doing of justice, and he said therein that justice is the strength of the world, that it is the chief of all virtues, that wealth and armies increase through it, and that nations become subject through it; he said, morevover, that justice maketh a man to show himself friendly, and that it is the strong prop of the world. Now he likened the world unto a garden, the wall of which is kingship, and kingship is the knowledge which maketh the king to administer wisely his dominions. The king is the man who should help his army, and the king who is helped by his army shall gather together for it wealth and possessions; riches shall make a nation to gather together unto themselves benefits: uprightness shall make slaves to submit unto a (free) people; and let integrity be the working power in the beginning of thy words and in the end thereof. Know too that by it the whole world standeth, and that by the excellence thereof cities are founded, and wealth is gathered together, and that soldiers and armies increase thereby and serve a people.' Budge, *Alexander*, ii, p. 383.

Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) in his Prolegomena (*Notices et Extraits*, xix. 80) preserves another tradition.

p. 80. Dans la fable du hibou, telle qu'elle est rapportée par Masoudi, le moubedan dit, entre autres choses, à Behram, fils de Behram : 'O roi, le souverain n'arrive au faîte de la puissance que par l'observation de la loi, par une submission entière à Dieu et par l'exactitude à respecter ses commandements et ses prohibitions. La loi ne peut subsister sans le souverain : le souverain n'est puissant que

par ses soldats : pour entretenir ses soldats il faut avoir de l'argent : l'argent ne se procure que par l'agriculture : point d'agriculture sans une juste administration : la justice est une balance dressée par le Seigneur au milieu des hommes, et près de laquelle il a placé un inspecteur, qui est le roi.'

Anouchirouan disait sur le même sujet : 'Sans armée, point de roi : sans argent, point d'armée : sans impôts, point d'argent : sans agriculture, point d'impôts : sans administration juste, point d'agriculture : sans rectitude de conduite, point de bonne administration : sans l'intégrité des vizirs, point de rectitude de conduite. Le point capital c'est que le roi examine par lui-même la condition de ses sujets et qu'il soit assez fort pour les châtier, afin qu'il règne sur eux et n'en soit pas dominé.'

Le traité sur la politique attribué à Aristote, et qui circule dans le public, contient plusieurs observations de ce genre ; mais elles ne sont pas présentées d'une manière complète, ni appuyées de toutes les preuves qu'elles réclament ; de plus, elles se trouvent mêlées à d'autres matières. Dans le même ouvrage l'auteur a indiqué aussi les maximes générales que nous avons rapportées d'après le Moubedan et Anouchirouan. Il les a rangées dans un cercle dont il fait un grand éloge, et qui les présente de cette manière : 'Le monde est un jardin dont le gouvernement est la clôture : le gouvernement est une puissance qui assure le maintien de la loi : la loi est une règle administrative dont la royauté surveille l'exécution : la royauté est un lien qui tient sa force de l'armée : l'armée est un corps d'auxiliaires qui servent pour l'argent : l'argent est un subside fourni par les sujets : les sujets sont des serviteurs protégés par la justice : la justice doit entrer dans les habitudes du peuple, car elle assure l'existence du monde. Or le monde est un jardin,' etc. L'auteur revient ainsi au commencement de sa proposition. . . .

124^4. 'lingua Caldea' is in the Arabic 'Syriac' (Siriyānī).

Section B (pp. 127–32), *de exitu rerum.* Discourse IV. In both forms of the Arabic text this section opens with a paragraph emphasizing the importance of what is to follow as revealing the nature of the intellect. It then proceeds to an account of the creation of the simple spiritual substance (of which the angels—or intelligences—are composed) and of the 'anima universalis' (which Bacon alters to 'universaliter'). At this point the Eastern text interposes a long account, more or less of neo-Platonist origin, of the development of the material universe (a simplification of his account of supramundane causes—emanations) and of the soul (pp. 127^9–32^5) which is absent in the Western text. The addendum treats of 'hyle' or primary matter, of matter itself collected in the nine spheres (Bacon alters the text silently to ten), of the motions of the spheres which lead to the composition of all things mineral, vegetable, and animal, and finally

of man, in whose composition all things are found. The universal soul has three powers, intellective, sensitive, and vegetative, working in bodies like sunlight in the air. This threefold division is that of Bacon himself, since the Latin Vulgate and the Arabic speak of a twofold division—the perceptive and the active, 'una quarum virium est signum, secunda vero operans' (130^{19}), which latter has seven modes of action. In line 22 Bacon alters 'vegetativa' into 'generativa', but the seven months assigned for gestation seems to be due to Philip, as the Arabic gives the usual number. The divisions of human life (p. 13) vary from text to text. All agree on the end of the first period, but the Latin Vulgate assigns 13, Bacon 14, and the Arabic 15, as the next. The phrase 'quia in 15mo anno potest generare' is only found in Bacon's edition. All agree as to 30 for the next period, but Bacon then jumps to 50, while Philip and the Arabic say 40. The next period ends at 50 (Arabic), 60 (Philip), or 70 (Bacon), from which time the soul is preparing itself for the end of life. If the soul is perfect and complete before its separation from the body it is taken up by the 'virtute anime universalis' (Bacon leaves out the mention of the 'anima') to supernal perfection, until at last it reaches the sphere of the intelligences and becomes part of the Universal Soul. Philip, however, omits this last phrase, and in its place substitutes one describing the fate of that soul which does seek after perfection.

Section C (pp. 132–43), *de bajulis*. Book IV, Latin text. We now return (p. 132^{9}) to the original form for four lines (l. 12 ending 'regem in ipsa'), and then begin a new digression on the senses, prompted by the idea of reason as ruler of the body.

The paragraph as to the sense of sight is altered by Bacon from ten to twenty-two species of sensation as in Alhazen whom he quotes as the 'Perspective'.

In the description of the sense of touch Bacon adds (l. 26) 'et in omnibus predictis de visu preter lucem et colorem', and to that of smell the whole of the paragraph as to human odour.

The final paragraph of the digression deals with the virtues of the number five: five planets, five kinds of animals, five essential parts of plants, five musical tones, five best days in the year, and five ports of the sea.

These two groups are difficult to explain. The Arabic text speaks of the days as the last days of Adhar (March), not May. I have been unable to find any other trace of this belief. The five intercalary

days are nearly always considered unlucky ; they occur in the Coptic year as September 5–10, in the Sothic year July 15–20, and in the Alexandrian August 24–28.

The five ports of the sea must be Bacon's addition; they are found in no other text, Arabic or Latin, that I have met. They are obviously the Cinque Ports.

The whole of this digression leads up to the advice to Alexander to have five chamberlains and five counsellors. But the Western text, on the contrary, advises only one counsellor, whose advice is to be taken on every occasion. The two texts come together again on the advice of Hermes (p. 135^{16}) and immediately diverge—the Western text still presupposing a single counsellor—until p. 136^{17} when they again meet. In the tale which follows the astrological details are only to be found in the Eastern version. Mars is now substituted for Mercury (see p. 108) as a favourite planet. 'Venere' (l. 3) should be 'Virgine' and 'Libra' should be 'Jove'. Bacon's conjecture is all wrong according to his own table on pp. 21, 22.

From p. 137^{33} to p. 138^{12} is only found in the Eastern version, like the passage from p. 139^{24} to p. 140^{8}. In 140^{6} the Arabic reads 'the days of joy are seven, so are those of sorrow', instead of 'the days of taking medicine are seven and the critical days of a disease are seven'. From p. 140^{21} to p. 141^{12} also is peculiar to the Eastern text.

The qualities of a good counsellor, pp. 141–2, differ slightly in each manuscript.

Section D (p. 143), *de microcosmo*. There are many variants on this theme, and no two lists are precisely the same. It is entirely Eastern in character, no hint of it being found in the various writers on the microcosm and the macrocosm.

A somewhat similar idea is found in Cardonne, *Mélanges*, ii. 83 : 'Nouchirsvan, king of Persia, asked his Wazir, Buzurf Djumher, for a definition of courage. He said : A brave man should have the courage of a lion, the valour of a cock, the impetuosity of a boar, the ferocity of a wolf, the rage of a tiger, the cleverness of a fox, the patience of a dog, the vigilance of a crane, and the prudence of a raven.'

A number of such comparisons are found in the Eastern animal stories.

Section E (pp. 144–6), *de Mago et Judeo*. This story is found in the tenth-century encyclopedia, the *Ikhwan as-safa*, published by Dieterici in 1868 under the title of *Die Logik und Psychologie*

der Araber im zehnten Jahrhundert n. Chr. The Mage came from Kerman and the Jew from Ispahan. The conversations are fuller in the earlier form, which has not the introduction and the final paragraph as to the reward of the Mage. The story is not found in some Arabic MSS. of the *Secretum*, while it is replaced in the Western version by some general remarks.

Section F (pp. 146–7), *de scribis*. Discourse V. In the seven-book scheme of the Western Arabic text this section is not counted as a separate discourse, but is comprised in Discourse IV. The emphasis on fine handwriting, which is minimized in Philip's version, is characteristic of its Persian origin. It will be observed that lines 9 and 10 are a perversion of the original, which warns the king to keep a close watch on his secretary.

Section G (pp. 147–8), *de nunciis*. Discourse VI. This section is in the Western version misplaced after section H, and is there reckoned Discourse VII in the eight-book scheme or V in the seven-book scheme. Philip seems to have misunderstood his original in lines 24 and 25. Line 25 is indeed unintelligible in any text: it should say that affairs may not go as you foresaw, as the right course to take might turn out to be different from that you had ordered. The last four lines of the section have been given a different bearing in the Latin: the original says nothing of the punishment of a faithless ambassador, as to which no advice was needed in the East.

Section H (pp. 148–9), *de subditis*. Discourse VII. Philip mistranslates l. 25 and the three which follow it. The text contrasts trees which do not require to be sown every year with annual plants. The last sentence is an addition of Philip.

This section is the concluding part of Discourse IV in the Western Arabic seven-book form, and is Discourse VI in the eight-book form and its Hebrew translation, though it is really included in Discourse IV of the preliminary list of books (p. 179).

Section I (pp. 149–51), *de proceribus*. Discourse VIII. This is also Gate VIII of the Western text, though it is part of Discourse VI in the preliminary list of books.

The method described in this chapter of organizing an army by tens is that of the Roman army with its decurions, centurions, &c., which passed over to the Byzantine Empire. It was adopted by Gengis Khan as described by Abul Faraj, *Chron. Dynast.* x, p. 450, ed. Pocock.

Ammonius (*de Categoriis*) amongst others speaks of the advantages of classifying by tens, and refers to the composition of ten by adding one, two, three, and four.

The account of the horn of Temistius (p. 151^{16}) is found only in a few of the MSS. of the Eastern version, and not in the Western form at all. From l. 23 to the end is an early addition, not found in the ordinary Latin texts, though probably not by Bacon, since it is added by Achillini, in a slightly altered form, to his woodcut of the great horn in his editions of 1501 and 1516. From this woodcut the horn was copied incorrectly by Kircher in his *Ars magna lucis et umbrae*, ii. 1. 7 (Rome 1646, p. 140), and again in his *Phonurgia nova* (1674, p. 132), in which work an engraved plate is given with suggestions as to its use. No Latin manuscript is known in which there is a figure of the horn, with the exception of that in Holkham Hall, in the borders of which an entirely fanciful instrument is depicted (reproduced in plate 151 of the Roxburghe Club publication of 1914). There are drawings in MSS. C and D of the Eastern Arabic text, of entirely different shape.

The name Temistius or Themistius in the Latin text seems to be taken from 'The Book of Astamatis' described by Al Makin. Our Arabic texts give Yayastayus. 'And besides this he (Aristotle) wrote the book which is called "The Book of Astamatis" which treateth of the breaching of cities and fortresses and kings' houses and of the submission of kings, and of how men should make use of talismans and of the knowledge derived therefrom, and of the names which will bring down rain and water to them in the desert and in the waste land, whensoever they utter them.' Budge, *Alexander*, ii. 384.

Kircher's note as to the size of the horn (five cubits in diameter) and the distance at which it could be heard (100 stadia) does not seem to rest on any manuscript authority.

l. 17 'ad nocendum' seems an early misreading for 'advocandum'.

Section K (pp. 152–5), *Noli frequentare bella*. Discourse IX. This section, which begins a separate discourse, the seventh, in the list of books of the eight-book Western texts, is part of the preceding one, the sixth, in that of the seven-book form, while in the body of the text it is Gate IX. The Latin translation follows the Eastern text fairly closely, with some interesting variants. In p. 152^{9-12} Philip gives a literal translation of a passage by no means clear in the original. In p. 153^{3} is a complete mistranslation. 'War is either aggressive or defensive', and 'ita quod' should really begin the next

sentence. In l. 15 the original is altered from mail coats and cuirasses to slings and arrows. The 'formam speciosissimam' of l. 18, 'artistic images' of the Eastern text, refers to the 'instruments which cause dread and trembling which I made for thee when thou didst engage in battle against Nahalah the Indian' of the Western text. It is interesting to observe that where the Eastern text usually speaks of 'beasts of burden of Khurasan' the Western speaks of 'packhorses and elephants'.

The advice on p. 154[4] to prepare stores of food and drink is a mistranslation of the original, which recommends the construction of pitfalls in the way of the enemy with calthrops (Almhavi) in them. The account of the Persians, Turks, and Parthians (l. 27) does not correspond to any of our Arabic manuscripts. W speaks only of the Turks as 'valorous and very foolish', the Eastern texts go on to advise using them as guards. The Turks are mentioned in the *Tactics* of Leo 18. 39. 47 with a somewhat similar character. The words 'unus populus . . . uxores' (l. 28) are only found in the Bacon group of Latin MSS.

The section, while not corresponding with any of the Byzantine works on the arts of war, has considerable affinity with such works as the *Kestos* of Sextus Julius Africanus or the *Tactics* of Leo.

Section L (pp. 155–6), *de eleccione temporis*. This section, entirely astrological, is found only in the Eastern Arabic texts. Lines 2–5 (p. 156) are a repetition of those at the end of the preceding section and are not found in the ordinary printed or MS. Latin texts.

A considerably larger proportion than usual of the astrology corresponds with that of the original, but in lines 13 and 25 Mercury should be Jupiter, in l. 24 Mars.

Section M (pp. 250–2). This section, Gate X in the Western eight-book form, was not translated into Latin, obviously because of the difficulty of assigning corresponding numerical values to the letters of the Latin alphabet, but it has made a great success in the East. It closes Discourse IX of the Eastern form and Discourse VI or VII of the lists of books in the two Western ones, being Gate X of the eight-book form. It is the last of the forty works assigned to Aristotle in Ibn Abi Usaibiʿa—the Kitab al-Yatīm. See also Haji Khalfa, v. 173 (10633), vii. 858, 496 (805). An article by Steinschneider, 'Intorno ad otto manoscritti . . .', Rome, 1867, has a note (p. 88) on the subject, with references to manuscripts in several languages.

An account of this method of calculation is found in the thirteenth-century Syriac Book of Medicine, published by Dr. Budge, vol. ii, pp. 540–1, whose translation is here quoted :

Another calculation whereby a man is able to know beforehand which of two men who are striving together will die. It was made by Aristotle for King Alexander his royal disciple, when he was waging war against Darius the Mede, and Alexander conquered Darius. This calculation is sure, and hath been well tried. It is useful to every one who wageth war against his neighbour, and striveth in respect of matters of business, and to kings, and to all men, both little and great. Observe when thou wishest to know when ⟨two⟩ men are waging war against each other, which will conquer. Take the numerical values of the letters of the name of each by itself, and take from the sum of each as many nines as there are in each, and see how many remain to thee in each case, and bear them ⟨in thy mind⟩. Then come to the following letters, and from them thou wilt learn which will conquer. One conquereth three, five, seven, and nine. Two conquereth one, four, six, and eight. Three conquereth two, five, seven, and nine. Four conquereth one, three, six, and eight. Five conquereth two, four, seven, and nine. Six conquereth one, three, five, and eight. Seven conquereth two, four, six, and nine. Eight conquereth one, three, five, and seven. Nine conquereth two, four, six, and eight. And if there be two in one name, or the numbers in the two names are equal, the combatant, that is the elder will conquer the younger. This calculation is a very sure one, and it is mentioned by the philosophers. When they made the calculation about Alexander's name there remained eight, and when they made the calculation about the name of Darius there remained seven ; and observe that eight conquered seven, so it cometh in one case after another, with the thing that was lost and was found, and with the man who died, and with the man who was healed, and so on when thou knowest well the name of the sick man and the name of the day in which he perceived his sickness.

Ibn Khaldun in his Prolégomènes (*Notices et Extraits*, 19. 241) has the following account :

Parmi ces systèmes, on trouve une espèce de calcul (hiçab) auquel on donne le nom de *hiçab en-nîm*. Il en est question vers la fin du Kitab es-Sîaça (Traité de politique), ouvrage attribué à Aristote. On emploie ce calcul quand deux rois vont se faire la guerre, et que l'on désire savoir lequel sera vainqueur. Voici comment se fait l'opération :

on additionne les valeurs numériques des lettres dont se compose le nom de chaque roi : ce sont des valeurs de convention attribuées aux lettres de l'alphabet : elles vont depuis l'unité jusqu'au mille, et se classent par unités, dizaines, centaines et milliers. L'addition faite, on retranche neuf de chaque somme autant de fois qu'il faut d'avoir deux restes moindres que neuf. On compare ces restes ensemble : si l'un est plus fort que l'autre, et que tous les deux soient des nombres pairs ou des nombres impairs, le roi dont le nom a fourni le reste le plus faible obtiendra la victoire. Si l'un des restes est un nombre pair et l'autre un nombre impair, le roi dont le nom a fourni le reste le plus fort sera le vainqueur. Si les deux restes sont égaux, et qu'ils soient des nombres pairs, le roi qui est attaqué remportera la victoire : si les restes sont égaux et impairs le roi qui attaque triomphera. On trouve dans le même livre deux vers qui se rapportent à cette opération, et qui sont bien connus : les voici—

> Dans les pairs et dans les impairs, c'est le moindre nombre qui l'emporte,
> Si l'un est pair et l'autre impair, c'est le plus grand qui sera vainqueur.
> Celui qui est attaqué aura la victoire, si les deux nombres égaux sont pairs,
> S'ils sont impairs, celui qui attaque triomphera.

The numerical values given on p. 243 (*op. cit.*) differ in some respects from those in our text, being those of the Magribi system. But no two MSS. coincide. In Fleischer's Catalogue of Leipzig MSS. p. 337 we find notice of a tract by Yahya ibn al-Batrik, where he uses the 'somma maggiore', 'jamlat kanir', in which ى = 2. The Syriac numerical values correspond with those used in the Eastern Arabic. The 'abjad' system is the Hebrew order for the twenty-two letters followed by six additional letters.

In the Western form the letters are arranged in alphabetical order with the following numerical values :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
ا	ب	ج	د	ه	و	ز	ح	ظ	ع
	ن	خ	ذ		ص		ف	ظ	ي
		س	ت		ل		ث		
			غ		لا		ر		
			ق				ش		
			م				ض		
							ك		

Ibn Khaldun (*op. cit.* p. 242) gives the following as the more usual values:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ا	ب	ج	د	ه	و	ز	ح	ط
ي	ك	ل	م	ن	ص	ع	ف	ض
ق	ر	س	ت	ث	خ	ذ	ظ	غ
ش								

Another system in general use (*op. cit.* p. 244):

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ا	ي	ج	م	ه	ت	غ	خ	ث
ر	س	ذ	د	ف	ح	ش	ع	ض
ب	ق	ل	و		ذ			ظ
	ك	ط	ص		ن			

A variant of this gives س ع for ش غ and خغ for خع.

These systems are called 'ayqash' and 'areb' from the first letters of each row.

Another system given in Fleischer's catalogue of Leipzig Oriental MSS., p. 428:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
ا	ن	ج	د	ه	و	ز	ح	ط	س
ي	ب		م		ل	لا	ك	ص	ش
ع			ق				ف		خ
			ذ				ر		ظ
			غ				ت		
							ض.		

On p. 337 (*op. cit.*) is a reference to another scale where ع = 1, ك = 2, &c.

Section N (pp. 137–63), *de incantamentis*. Discourse X. In the greater part of the Latin MSS. this section is entirely omitted, and in the Achillini text it is placed after section t (before p. 114 of this edition). The first paragraph, down to line 16, is common to the Eastern and Western texts: from that point on, the Western text proceeds with section Q (pp. 173–5), the Eastern, in all MSS. with this down to p. 162[7]. From this point, one only (B) gives the text translated by Philip, the others describe different talismans, though

the Hermogenes of our text may have been obtained from one of them. The remainder of Discourse X consists of Sections O, *De alchimia*, and P, *De lapidibus et vegetabilibus*, which finishes with the real ending of the *Secretum*. Only a very few MSS. and no printed texts go farther than p. 161[24] (see pp. xxv–xxvi).

The title, found in this and some other MSS., 'Dictio decima' is interesting as a remnant of the primitive form of this translation, before it suffered its first recast. It occurs in B.N. 6755, 6756, B.M. Sl. 2413, 12 C. vi, 12 D. iii, 12 E. xv, &c.

Section V (pp. 163–72), *de phisionomia*. Prof. R. Foerster has dealt at such length with this section in his *Scriptores Physiognomonici* (Teubner, 1893), vol. i, pp. clxxviii–clxxxi, vol. ii, pp. 183–222, that little more remains to be said. It has already been pointed out (p. xxi–xxxix) that the Western form is not an abridgement of the Eastern, but an independent growth from a common stem. The Eastern text has been much more influenced by the physiognomy of Razis (*ad Almansorem*, tr. 2) than the Western. There are many more verbal coincidences with Gerard of Cremona's translation of Razis than with Michael Scot's treatise already cited, e.g. 167[28] sapientie innuit paucitatem (R. c. 26), 168[14] deterior est omnibus hominibus (omnibus hominibus sunt deteriores, R. c. 28), 169[16] Qui tempora inflata (R. c. 32), but I believe they are only coincidences and that the borrowing took place in the Arabic.

The only quotations I have noted by Albertus Magnus are those of p. 170, ll. 4–7, in the *de animalibus*, i. 2. 26 end, and others.

The story of Hippocrates and Philemon is originally told of Socrates and Zopyrus—for classical references see Foerster, i, p. viii.

Section Q (pp. 173–5), *de lapidibus preciosis*. This section, the remainder of the thirteenth division in the Western eight-book form, was incorporated by Achillini with passages from Discourse X, as previously described (p. xxiv). He either translated them himself, or got them from an early Latin translation, from the Hebrew, as a considerable part of them is not found in the Arabic but was added by some Jewish alchemist, or by Al Harizi himself.

The sections only found in Hebrew are: (1) Sciendum tamen quod scire producere . . . (2) Et facias anulum ex argento . . . (3) Bis ipsum est ex venenis et magnis . . . (4) At sustentamentum omnium . . . (5) Scias etiam quod chimia . . . Most probably (6) Amatistes est piram in Arabico . . . is also an insertion, but W is imperfect at this point (p. 253).

THE TRANSLATION FROM THE ARABIC.

The value of this translation from the Arabic text, as we have it to-day is two-fold ; it serves as a translation of the Latin for those readers who find a difficulty in accustoming themselves to it, the corresponding pages of the Latin text being marked on the margin, and it allows us to form an opinion of the competence of thirteenth-century translators from the Arabic. In this case there is no doubt that Philip's translation is very close to his text, allowing for ornamental additions and expansions which are easily recognized. It was originally intended to mark the additions which distinguish the Eastern from the Western forms by a difference in type, but this intention was abandoned, and the student will find it easy to compare the version here given with Dr. Gaster's version of the Hebrew text, which is in substance the same as the Western Arabic, the forms given in the notes as *W* marking the exact Western text.

To make this collection of pseud-Aristotelian letters to Alexander more complete, a letter on the immortality of the soul from the Taegius text (pp. xxiv, xxv) drawn from some unknown source, and an English translation of a letter on Ethics from an Arabic MS. in the British Museum have been added. These with Lippert's translation of the *Peri Basileias* will show the principal Arabic forms which were written in rivalry with the *Secretum Secretorum*.

THE ANGLO-NORMAN VERSION.

This version must have been made very soon after the introduction of the *Secretum* to the Western world, yet there was time for a compound text to have been made of the *Secretum* and some other treatise on health which has not yet been identified. The part not derived from the *Secretum* begins at l. 1868 and ends at l. 2237. Beyond the correction of a few scribal errors there has been no attempt made to edit the text as it appears in the only manuscript of it known.

1 a.

Incipit quidam tractatus brevis et utilis ad declarandum quedam obscure dicta in libro Secreti Secretorum Aristotilis, quem librum edidit Aristotiles ad preces Alexandri Magni in sua senectute; quem tractatum fecit frater Rogerus Bacun de ordine minorum intuitu caritatis ad instructionem quorundam sapientum. Quem tractatum, si sapiens intueatur et bene omnia discuciat, una cum notabilibus que ipsemet frater Rogerus posuit supra textum in multis locis et diversis, inveniet ultima nature secreta ad que homo sive humana invencio in hac vita poterit pervenire, ad que quiscunque posset pertingere, vere princeps mundi poterit nominari. Nec desperet quis propter difficultatem, quoniam si naturas rerum cognoverit, scienciam perspective, et astronomiam, ista secreta non poterunt eum latere. Et habet capitula ⟨septem⟩.

Capitulum primum de causa hujus operis, et de erroribus falsorum mathematicorum quomodo judicant certudinaliter, et dicunt omnia evenire de necessitate.

Capitulum secundum de veris mathematicis quomodo judicant sub condicione supponendo liberum arbitrium non posse cogi set inclinari et excitari per constellaciones, et quomodo, et de necessitate scientis medici pro complexionibus alterandis.

Capitulum tercium de dictis et factis falsorum mathematicorum et demonum.

Capitulum quartum de dictis et factis verorum mathematicorum, et que mirabilia possunt facere cum adjutorio artis medicine: quomodo videlicet alterantur complexiones et meliorantur, tam in moribus quam in sapientia: et tangit ultima secreta ad que solus sapiens medicus poterit pervenire.

A note at foot says, 'Titulus dicitur a "titan" Grece quod est "sol" Latine, quia sicut sol illuminat mundum, ita titulus illuminat et manifestat librum.'

Capitulum quintum de veris scienciis similibus in nominibus scienciis magicis, set nichil in intencione set sunt partes philosophie et sciencie experimentalis.

Capitulum .6. de quibusdam astronomicis pro multis intelligendis in hoc libro, et maxime in capitulo ultimo secunde partis, et similiter in ultimo capitulo et penultimo tercie partis.

Capitulum .7. de proprietatibus planetarum et signorum de quibus loquitur Aristotiles in hoc libro, et de sex modis alteracionis
1 b. rerum inferiorum in hoc mundo tam animatarum | quam inanimatarum per virtutem planetarum et est capitulum ultimum.

PRopter multa in hoc libro contenta (qui liber dicitur Secretum Secretorum Aristotilis sive liber de Regimine Principum Regum et Dominorum), considerandum est quod translator hujus libri conveniencius potuit transtulisse multa et apercius.

Nam 'Mancia' non est verbum philosophicum, nec 'Geomancia', nec 'Celimancia', nec 'Incantacio', nec 'Carmen', nec bene sonant hec et hujusmodi secundum racionem fidei. Res tamen philosophice quas Aristotiles intellexit habent veritatem philosophie, unde translatores Aristotilis nescientes perfecte potestatem scienciarum, nec scientes sufficienter linguam Grecam, nec vocabula Latina scienciarum propria, multum defecerunt, transferendo in multo, eciam magis defecerunt qui sapienciam Aristotilis primo translata de Greco in Arabicum, postea in Latinum ex Arabico, transtulerunt, sicut iste translator et plures alii defecerunt. Propter quod aliqua de hoc libro volo quibusdam exposicionibus illustrare.

'Mancia' vero Grece est 'divinacio' Latine, qua magici ac matematici utuntur secundum quod hec nomina matematica et matematicus derivantur a 'matesi' media corepta, que 'matesis' est 'magica' inponens necessitatem rebus contingentibus et libero arbitrio. Contra quam et contra matematicos ab ea dictos egregie beati Augustinus et Gregorius in *Omeliis de Epiphania* disputant et alibi, necnon philosophi omnes de dignitate philosophie prediti, ut Aristotiles, Avicenna, Ptolomeus, et omnes alii veraciter philosophantes.

Set tamen hii veri judicatores dicuntur mathematici a 'mathesi' media producta que etiam per aspiracionem scribitur. Hec 'mathesis' est 'doctrina' Latine, vel disciplina, sicut Cassiodorus docet in libro *de Scienciis Secularibus*.

32 Augustinus] de diversis questionibus, xlv. 34 Ptolomeus] tpolomeus MS. 39 Migne, 71. 1151.

Et hec mathematica continet quatuor sciencias, scilicet, Geometriam, Arsmetricam, Musicam, Astrologiam | sub qua Astro- 2 a. logia, Astronomia judicaria et operativa vulgari nomine continetur. De quibus scienciis Cassiodorus ibidem subjungit, dicens : 'Has sciencias quatuor dum solicita mente revolvimus ; sensum acuunt, limumque ignorancie detergunt, et ad illam spectivam contemplacionem, Domino largiente, perducunt' : quas merito sancti patres legendas persuadent, quia ex magna parte per eas appetitus a carnalibus rebus abstrahitur et faciunt desiderare que solo, Domino largiente, corde possumus aspicere.

Et dicit quod ideo hec mathematica dicitur doctrinalis vel disciplinalis, quia omnes alie sciencie per hanc docentur et sine illa non possunt doceri. Quod etiam Boitius in prologo *Arithmetice* edocet evidenter. Set glomerelli nescientes Grecum, corumpunt omnia vocabula Greca, ex quibus major pars lingue Latine componitur, unde ex magna sua ignorancia vulgaverunt hos versus falsos:

Scire facit matesis, set divinare mathesis
Philosophi matesim, magici dixere mathesim.

Et errant in sensu et scriptura, ut patet ex dictis secundum Grecam veritatem, nam 'matesis' media corepta et sine aspiracione est divinacio sive ars divinandi qua Manto divinatrix adinvenit, ut per Virgilium decimo libro *Eneydis* et per Servium comentatorem ejus patet. Set 'mathesis', media producta et aspirata in secunda sillaba, sicut patet ex Grecis libris et Greca gramatica, est disciplina.

Matematici igitur qui sunt falsarii omnia dixerunt evenire de necessitate et per fatum, et non solum in naturalibus set in voluntariis. Unde posuerunt quod infans natus in constellacione tali vel tali erit de necessitate talis vel talis, et presumunt per hoc judicare de omnibus, futuris et presentibus, occultis et preteritis, certitudinaliter.

Capitulum secundum de veris mathematicis.

SEt veri mathematici hec tria non | presumunt, quia nec de 2 b. necessitate judicant aliquid fore vel esse vel fuisse in istis inferioribus contingentibus et voluntariis, nec de omnibus judicia sua ponunt, set de aliquibus, nec absolute certitudinaliter

4 **Cassiodorus**] Migne 71. 1204. 13 **Boitius**] Inst. Arith. i. 1.
17 Eberhardi Graecismus (Ed. Wrobel), x. 211. 22 **Virgil**] Aen. x. 199.

docent unam partem contradiccionis, ut quod iste infans erit bonus aut malus, set quod erit bonus vel episcopus si Deus voluerit, nam semper in judiciis suis adducunt in fine 'si Deus voluerit'. Unde cum prevident possibilitatem rei alicujus contingentis in naturalibus vel in voluntariis, non dicunt quod de necessitate continget, set quod potest contingere, et continget quantum est de vi causarum suarum, et quod erit nisi Deus mutet ordinacionem nature vel voluntatis.

Circa enim voluntaria, ut in actibus humanis, mathematici veri supponunt libertatem arbitrii, ut in nullo cogatur ad bonum vel malum, nec ad honores nec dedecora, nec ad prospera nec adversa, nec ad sciencialia nec ad officia ecclesiastica nec secularia, que omnia de quolibet falsi matematici affirmant.

Set veri mathematici considerant situs et loca planetarum, et quas fortitudines habent in signis diversis, et quos respectus habent adinvicem et ad stellas fixas, et sic veraciter possunt judicare de alteracionibus corporum inferiorum in terra et aqua et aere, secundum possibilitatem, ut dictum est; et quod una pars contradiccionis eveniet, set non de necessitate. Et licet secundum possibilitatem nature eveniet, tamen Deus potest mutare ex sua bonitate, et meritis sanctorum et meritis ecclesie et cujuslibet boni Christiani, si ad hoc sufficiant sua merita. Unde una vetula paupercula suis precibus et meritis, bonitate Dei favente, potest mutare ordinem nature, sicut Beata Scolastica, invito Sancto Benedicto, oravit Deum, et facta est tempestas valida ne beatus Benedictus recederet ab ea. Et sic de aliis miraculis infinitis que fiunt supra naturam et contra eam, bonitate Dei et angelorum et sanctorum et meritis ecclesie et bonorum.

Et sicut hec alteracio naturalis est in corporibus inanimatis, sic in corporibus animatorum et hominum.

Continue enim alterantur corpora humana secundum diversas constellaciones omni hora, et excitantur anime ad acciones diversas
3 a. et mores et sciencialia et alia | officia. Set anime non coguntur set feruntur gratis in ea ad que complexio corporis excitat et inclinat, sicut non considerata aliqua constellacione homo colericus excitatur ad iram, sanguineus ad pacem, fleumaticus ad quietem et ocium, melancolicus ad tristiciam et solitudinem. Set tamen in hiis non cogitur liberum arbitrium set inclinatur vehementer, ut tamen

17 in] et MS.

gratis velit ea ad que per complexionem corporis inclinatur. Sicut homo per amicos et socios et res delectabiles et tristabiles presentes multa facit, excitatus per hec, que alias non faceret, sic constellacio presens alterat complexionem corporis, ad quam alteracionem sequitur excitacio mentis, licet non cogatur in aliquo. Et causa hujus est quia unum per naturam et essenciam et una persona fit ex corpore et anima, et ideo anima passionibus corporis facile excitatur, et e converso.

Nam, testante Avicenna .8. *de Animalibus* et alibi, calor in corpore et frigus et alie passiones varie fiunt pluries ex sola cogitacione et affectione anime, sicut quilibet in se et in aliis experitur. Set hec excitacio anime per complexionem excitatam ex stellis maxime consideranda esset a regibus et aliis qui presunt mundo et ecclesie. Nam si mathematicus verus sciat etatem alicujus regis, et annum et diem et horam conceptus et nativitatis, potest certitudinaliter judicare de complexione ejus radicali, et ex ea elicere aptitudines ejus et disposiciones naturales ad bona et mala. Nam omnes homines secuntur complexiones suas naturaliter, ut videmus, sicut expositum est, licet non cogatur liberum arbitrium, set tamen fortiter et vehementer inclinatur. Rex igitur quilibet sequitur naturaliter complexionem suam. Et si est multum colericus, inclinabitur ad superbiam et iram et inprudenciam et discordias et bellum et turbaciones aliorum. Et quia ad voluntatem suam flectuntur consiliarii et amici ejus, flectetur et regnum ad ejus voluntatem, et sic turbabit regna vicinia et etiam regnum proprium, querens occasiones contra multos sibi subjectos.

Et si sit sanguineus, erit humilis et mansuetus et prudens et pacificus, amans justiciam et pacem et societatem et amiciciam et liberalitatem. Et sic per alias complexiones excitabitur rex ad alia. Et similiter omnes qui presunt, sive in mundanis sive in ecclesiasticis, sequntur suas complexiones sive ad bona sive ad
mala, nisi Deus mutaverit | ordinem nature et voluntatis. Si 3 b.
tamen haberent bona consilia per sapientes medicos scientes astronomiam, possent eorum complexiones male alterari in melius, et sic inclinarentur ad clemenciam, pacem et justiciam, et ad concordiam et ad amiciciam et ad omne bonum.

Capitulum tercium de dictis et factis falsorum matematicorum et demonum

HEc de judiciis mathematicorum verorum et falsorum possunt intelligi, set nunc considerandum est de eorum dictis et factis per que fiunt multa. Nam utrique possunt facere multos effectus utiles, precipue humano corpori, et pro prosperis promovendis et repellendis adversis et pro innumerabilibus utilitatibus procurandis et malis excludendis. Set matematici falsi credunt quod omnia que faciunt contingunt de necessitate, verus mathematicus nullam necessitatem ponit. Item falsi matematici propter incredulitatem suam et errorem circa ea que fieri possunt in constellacionibus debitis cadunt, Dei judicio, in alios errores infinitos, et desiderant adjutoria demonum, et faciunt carmina et karacteres et sacrificia secundum quod quidam libri eorum pessimi docent, quorum aliquos demones fecerunt, et tradiderunt pessimis hominibus, et quorum aliquos ipsi matematici fecerunt instinctu et instruccione demonum, et per revelacionem eorum. Quorum etiam aliquos multa pessimi homines finxerunt propria malicia, et illis libris isti pessimi matematici inponunt titulos autenticos ut *liber Ade*, et *liber Moysi*, et *libri Salomonis*, et *libri Aristotilis*, et *Hermetis*, et aliorum sapientum, cum tamen ipsimet homines pessimi fingunt hec, et seducunt homines, non solum juvenes set etiam senes et viros famosos, sicut in nostris temporibus experti sumus. Et vidimus maximos viros occupatos in hiis, non solum clericos et ecclesiasticos viros, set principes aliquantulum literatos, et alios similiter magnos viros.

Et hiis matematicis in malicia sua completis apparent demones sensibiliter in forma humana et aliis formis variis, et dicunt et faciunt multa eis mirabilia, secundum quod Deus permittit. Aliquando apparent ymaginarie, ut in ungue pueri virginis carminati,
4 a. et in pelvibus et ensibus, et in spatula arietis, | secundum modum eorum consecratis, et in ceteris rebus pollitis, et demones ostendunt eis omnia que petunt, secundum quod Deus permittit.

Unde pueri sic inspicientes res politas vident ymaginarie res furtive acceptas, et ad que loca deportate sunt, et que persone asportaverunt, et sic de aliis multis, et demones apparentes omnia hec illis prius ostendunt.

Set ulterius procedit demencia matematicorum falsorum sine apparitione demonum, nec est ars nec natura, et hec sunt purissime

magica. Tamen fiunt multa mirabilia, utilia temporaliter quibusdam et nociva aliis, set hec fiunt per demones invisibiliter operantes et revelantes, permittente Deo sicut David dicit de revelacione demonum hominibus nephandis 'misit in eos iram indignacionis sue, inmissiones per angelos malos'.

Sic geomantici faciunt karacteres et figuras in pulvere, et credunt se per artem scire futura et presentia occulta et preterita, et sedent in partibus transmarinis in foro et aliis locis publicis, et veniunt ad eos viri et mulieres omnes pro negociis occultis et futuris querendis. Et fingunt se operari per virtutem stellarum, et ideo faciunt figuras suas ad similitudinem stellarum, et utuntur vocabulis astronomicis, et multi viri famosi in studio infecti sunt nostris temporibus in hiis. Et similiter alie magice artes, ut ydromancia que fit in aqua, quia 'ydor' Grece est 'aqua' Latine, et aerimancia in aere, et pyromancia in igne sunt erronee, et multe alie, de quibus non est dicendum ad presens, set pro certo demones occultis revelacionibus illudunt eis.

Et hujusmodi illusiones fiunt, aut propter infidelitatem talia querencium a magicis, aut propter infidelitatem magicorum, aut propter peccata alia utrorumque gravia quibus implicantur, aut certe mala et nociva multis fiunt per magicos propter peccata illorum hominum quibus accidunt talia nociva. Et hec omnia patent per infinita exempla que contigerunt nostris temporibus, ut in maleficiatis et aliis innumerabilibus, de quibus non possum scribere ad hoc tempus. Et ab istis karecteribus et carminibus et figuris et operibus magicorum ultimis descendunt errores vetularum sortilegarum et virorum similiter. Nam edocti fuerunt primitus a ma|gicis, et matres docent filias, et patres docent filios, 4 b.
et sic crevit malicia infinita per universum mundum usque nunc, et crescet habundantius usque in diem Antichristi. Et non solum malicia ultima que communis est vetulis et viris sortilegis et matematicis, set priores malicie omnes superius enumerate. Et sic precurrent Antichristum multi nephandi homines qui disponent multos ad errores pessimos Antichristi, quamvis et omnis falsa doctrina sive in philosophia que jam incepta est a quindecim annis, sive falsitas studii fidei per hereticos, efficacius disponunt ad tempora Antichristi, et ipse tunc instruendus et nutriendus per demones replebitur omni malicia matematicorum magicorum

3 David] Ps. 77. 49.

falsorum et falso philosophancium et hereticorum, et pervertet ad tempus omne verum et bonum.

Capitulum quartum de dictis et factis verorum mathematicorum.

SEt mathematici veri elongantur penitus ab hiis malis omnibus, et servant omnino veritatem philosophie et fidei, et pro debitis constellacionibus sciunt eligere tempora in quibus per virtutes planetarum et stellarum fixarum possunt, Dei disposicione, multa fieri per naturam et per artem juvantem naturam, et utuntur dictis et factis certis, set non carminibus magicis nec vetularum set secundum graciam datam philosophis, circa cultum divinum statuerunt oraciones et sacrificia, secundum quod Aristotiles tangit inferius in parte prima capitulo ultimo.

Nam etsi non debeamus asserere quod philosophi habuerunt graciam gratum facientem, quia nescimus secundum hoc quid fecerit eis Deus, tamen scimus quod habuerunt magnam graciam gratis datam, scilicet, sapiencie magnalia et mirabiles virtutes quas utinam nos omnes Christiani haberemus. Philosophi enim magni, ut Plato, Aristotiles, et Avicenna, et hujusmodi, non coluerunt ydola set despexerunt ea, et Deum verum more suo coluerunt secundum graciam eis datam: et ideo habuerunt sacrificia et oraciones sine lege Moysi et Christiana, sicut antiqui patres ab Adam usque ad legem datam Moysi. Unde Aristotiles in lege sua propter cultum Trinitatis habuit oraciones tres et sacrificia tria, sicut docet Averoys in principio *Celi et Mundi*.

Et astronomi Christiani debent pia devocione uti oracionibus ad Deum et sanctos, et eos invocare in omnibus operibus suis in auxilium, et non demones sicut magici, quibus oracionibus sancti utriusque Testamenti usi sunt, et addunt karacteres et figuras
5 a. crucis et | Crucifixi, et Beate Virginis, et Beati Dionisii qui fuit optimus astronomus et aliorum ad quos operans habet devocionem, et debent et possunt quedam opera facere conveniencia, ut facilius et melius accidant que intendat. Ut medicus peritus in astronomia ponit medicinalia sua sub divo quando stelle utilium operacionum et conveniencium sunt super orizonta, hoc est, super habitacionem nostram vel suam, sive super terram nostre habitacionis, et cavet a nocivis stellis. Et similiter facit de cibis et potibus, si est sapiens in astronomia. Eciam ipsas personas

11 **Aristotiles**] see p. 61. 24 **Averoys**] lib. i. c. 3.

infirmas novit aptare ad recepcionem radiorum stellarum conveniencium, et non solum circa infirmos scit hec disponere set insanis. Et scit per has vias rectificare et meliorare complexiones eorum ut inclinentur ad bona et utilia sibi et aliis, tam in sapiencia quam in moralibus, sicut Arthephius philosophus disposuit filium regis quem docuit, et miro modo melioravit complexionem suam ad bonitatem et sapienciam. Et hec maxime debent fieri in regibus et filiis eorum et in aliis principibus, et eciam prelatis et omnibus viris magnificis, non solum propter eorum utilitates, set propter utilitates subditorum ecclesie et tocius mundi.

Majora autem hiis possunt fieri circa statum reipublice et regnorum pro prosperis et contra adversa, de quibus loquitur Aristotiles in hoc libro, set occulte. Quia dicit: ille est fractor sigilli celestis, et multa mala consequntur eum qui revelat secreta indignis.

Capitulum quintum de veris scienciis similibus in nominibus quatuor predictis, set nichil in intencione vel re, set sunt partes philosophie et sciencie experimentalis.

SCiendum quod geomancia predicta est magica, et aerimancia quedam, et ydromancia quedam, et piromancia quedam, de quibus sunt libri magicorum. Set alie horum nominum, set non rerum neque intencionis, sunt partes philosophie et sciencie experimentalis. Nam secundum Ptholomeum in libro *de Disposicione Sphere* qui alio nomine vocatur *Introductorius in Almagesti*, duplex est pars philosophie de futuris cognoscendis secundum possibilitatem, ut dictum est. Una est Astronomia naturalis, quia de rebus naturalibus in hoc mundo inferiori judicat, ut dictum est, scilicet medio modo inter necessarium et impossibile, sicut Ptolomeus | docet in *Centilogio* et in *Quadripartito*, ita quod 5 b.
nullam necessitatem imponunt astronomi libero arbitrio, neque rebus contingentibus, ut prius expositum est.

Set est alia sciencia que considerat futuras alteraciones hujus mundi inferioris, que vocatur Sciencia Experimentalis a Ptolomeo in libro predicto, super quam, ut ait Ptolomeus, Aristotiles nobilis

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13 dicit] p. 41.

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17 intencione] intenciore MS.

fundatus est, et multa turba dominorum judiciorum astronomie, quam Aratus philosophus multum ampliavit. Et hec sciencia considerat ea que apparent in terra per signa in animalibus et ceteris terrestribus et aqueis, et per ea que apparent in aere, et per ea que apparent in igne, scilicet, in spera ignis, per quę philosophi judicant de pluviis et ventis et siccitate et calore et frigore et humore et pestilencia et putrefacione aeris et animalium terrestrium et aqueorum et hominum et omnium vivencium. Et non solum de hiis set de multis aliis, atque eciam multum bene docent poete de hiis, ut Virgilius primo *Georgicorum*, et Servius ejus comentator et alibi, atque Lucanus primo et sexto libro precipue, et alii multi. Avicenna vero narrat libro *Animalium* quod quidam homo apud Constantinopolim judicavit de mutacione ventorum per hericium qui certas in se fecit mutaciones ante varietatem ventorum. Delphini in mari contra tempestatem recedunt de fundo maris ad superficiem, et sic de variis proprietatibus animalium, et tam in mari quam in terra. Et fragor nemorum et tumor marium et hujusmodi sunt certa signa mutacionis aeris et rerum inferiorum.

Similiter ea que apparent in aere, ut inpressiones inflammate seu vapores inflammati ut Assub ascendens et descendens, que vulgus estimant stellas cadentes et descendentes, et sunt vapores inflammati que significant siccitatem rerum inferiorum, sicut patet ex fine *Centilogii* Ptolomei. Et multa consimilia luminosa et inflammata apparent in diversis figuris de quibus Aristotiles loquitur primo *Metheororum*, ut sunt dracones ardentes et serpentes et columpne et piramides et multa alia. Eciam yris et halo sive Allileti, qui est circulus coloratus circa solem et lunam et stellas, et virga perpendicularis colorata, multa significant in alteracionibus
6 a. aeris. | Et comete, que vocantur stelle comate, habundancius significant, sicut vidimus nostri temporis apparente cometa magno, et non solum fuerunt turbaciones aeris set hominum et omnium regionum nobis notarum, qui apparuit Anno Domini 1264. In illo anno et in sequentibus fuerunt maxime turbaciones mundi, ita quod quantitas et dispersio radiorum suorum fuit ita horribilis quod terruit omnes homines supra modum. Et hii comete non solum fiunt ex vapore inflammato set sublimato per virtutem alicujus planete vel stelle fixe, quarum motum sequntur sicut

12 **Avicenna**] lib. viii. c. 4.

ferrum sequitur motum adamantis. Et hii comete fiunt in spera ignis supra aerem, sicut docet Algazel in *Naturalibus*.

Multa etiam majora sunt hiis significancia alteraciones mundi, de quibus sancti et historiographi sicut et philosophi late scribunt, quod ut aliquando duo soles et alias tres soles simul visi sunt, et due aut tres lune vise sunt simul. Et hec sunt vapores sperici inflammati ex radio solis ac lune, nec sunt de genere cometarum. Et multa sunt consimilia, et a longe mirabiliora accidunt in istis et inflammatis, sicut Titus Livius, auctor maximus historie mundi, et sanctus Horosius ad beatum Augustinum, et ipse Augustinus, et multi alii auctores certissimi. Quibus mirabilibus accidentibus totus mundus est alteratus, sicut ipsi auctores certissimi describunt.

Item secundum eosdem lac aliquando pluit de celo vel aere, et sanguis et lana et metalla et lapides et viva animalia ut pisces et salamandra et alia reptilia et rane et buffones et carnes; et rivus olei et sanguinis orti sunt de terra et longe mirabiliora quam oporteat nunc dici, sicut auctores predicti docent et alii certissimi, quibus apparentibus facta est magna alteracio mundi. Similiter eclipses solis et lune sunt in hac consideracione, et aliorum planetarum. Quia duplex est consideracio eclipsis; aut quantum ad situm solis et lune et stellarum in signis, et sic pertinet consideracio eclipsis astronomis; aut quantum ad obscuritatem et impedimentum lucis secundum quod subtrahitur beneficium lucis a mundo inferiori, et sic pertinet eclipsium consideracio ad hanc scienciam experimentalem. Et tunc est ineffabilis 6 b.
alteracio in omnibus, et maxime quando fit eclipsis universalis, quando scilicet totum corpus solis vel lune eclipsatur, et maxime quando totus sol eclipsatur. Tunc nox est pro die, et apparent stelle in celo, et aves territi volant huc et ibi, et bruta terrentur et homines maxime in corde et anima, sicut ista etate expertum est; et cicius erit talis eclipsis quam qui vellent sapientes in hac sciencia. Omnia hec et consimilia sunt effectus planetarum et stellarum, et vocantur a Ptolomeo et aliis 'secunda stellarum', quia effectus est in secundo loco respectu sue cause: de quibus dicit Ptolomeus in *Centilogio* quod anima sapiens certius judicabit per secunda stellarum quam per stellas. Et ideo dicit in libro *de Disposicione Spere* quod Aristotiles nobilis et astronomi plus fundarunt se super hanc scienciam quam super astronomiam.

2 **Algazel**] lib. ii. c. 4. Philosophia (ed. 1506).

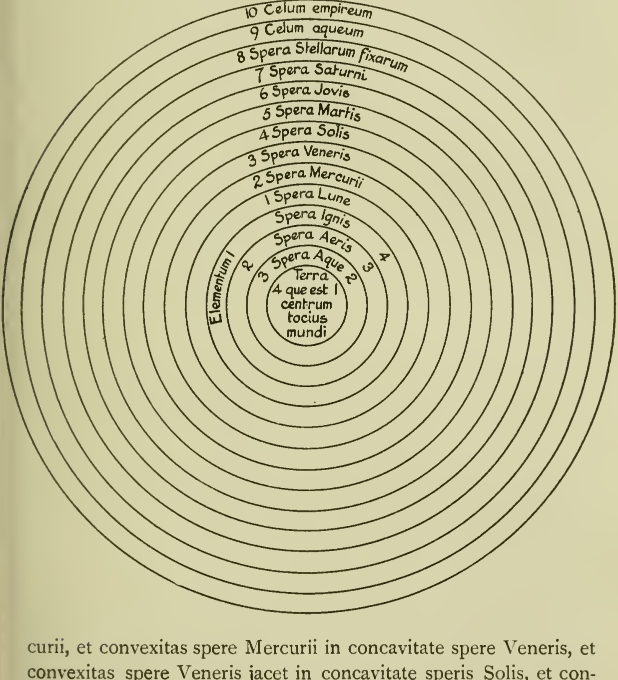
Cum igitur 'ge' Grece sit 'terra' Latine, et 'mancia' 'divinacio', hoc est, judicium de futuris, una erit geomancia magica de qua dictum fuit superius, et alia castigato nomine est pars philosophie que, scilicet, considerat signa in animalibus et ceteris rebus terrestribus super futura, nec habet aliquid falsitatis si bene intelligatur. Similiter 'ydor' Grece est 'aqua' Latine et 'mancia' 'divinacio' sive judicium, ut honestiori utamur vocabulo, et hec, ut dictum est, magica est secundum quod magici utuntur, set alia est pars philosophie que considerat signa futurarum in aqua et rebus aqueis, sive piscibus sive aliis. 'Aer' quidem Grecum est, unde aerimancia que duplex est, una magica alia naturalis que considerat predicta signa in aere. Similiter 'pir' est 'ignis', unde piromancia, et una consideratur a magicis, et alia est naturalis et pars philosophie que considerat signa in spera ignis, ut sunt comete et alia cum quibus sociantur eclipsis, quia nomina posita sunt ab antiquis ante philosophos, et antiqui estimabant celum esse ignee nature propter stellas que lucent ut ignis. Unde primum et suppremum celum vocatur empireum.

De istis scienciis naturalibus que vocari possunt inproprie geomancia, ydromancia, aerimancia, piromancia, que sunt vere partes philosophie, intendit Aristotiles in hoc libro, set translator non habuit in Latino nomina propria istis scienciis, ideo accepit nomina scienciarum magicarum que sunt similes aliquibus veris scienciis.

Capitulum sextum de quibusdam astronomicis pro multis intelligendis in hoc libro et maxime in capitulo ultimo secunde partis, et similiter in ultimo capitulo tercie partis et penultimo. |

7 a. PRopter quedam difficilia in hoc libro de astronomicis, et maxime propter capitulum ultimum secunde partis et ultimum et penultimum tercie partis, oportet nos scire quod totus mundus est spericus quantum ad convexitatem suarum parcium preter terram. Set terra naturaliter est sperica, tam in convexitate quam in concavitate, quia jacet in medio mundi et jacet in concavitate spere aque naturaliter tota, sicud fuit in principio mundi et erit in fine. Set propter habitacionem hominum subtrahitur magna pars aque, que clauditur in visceribus terre sive infra concavitatem terre usque ad finem mundi, ita quod

secundum Esdram, quarto libro, sex partes terre sunt libere ab aqua, et septima cooperitur aquis. Et huic optime concordat Aristotiles in fine secundi libri *Celi et Mundi.* Convexitas aque sperica jacet in concavitate aeris, et convexitas aeris in concavitate ignis, et convexitas ignis in concavitate orbis vel spere Lune. Et convexitas spere Lune jacet in concavitate orbis seu spere Mer-



curii, et convexitas spere Mercurii in concavitate spere Veneris, et convexitas spere Veneris jacet in concavitate speris Solis, et convexitas spere Solis in concavitate speris Martis, et convexitas spere Martis in concavitate spere Jovis. Et convexitas spere Jovis jacet in concavitate spere Saturni, et convexitas spere Saturni in concavitate spere stellarum fixarum in corpore magno, in quo

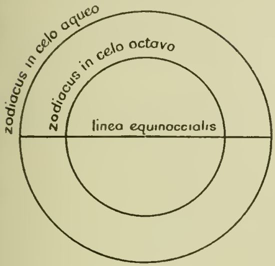
1 **Esdram**] 2 Esdr. vi. 42. 3 **Aristotiles**] l. ii. c. 79.

sunt innumerabiles stelle parve secundum sensum, qui vocantur fixe. Et convexitas hujus celi, scilicet, stellarum fixarum, jacet in concavitate celi aquei, et convexitas ejus celi aquei jacet in concavitate celi empirei, quod est suppremum celum. Et sic
7 b. quodlibet | istorum corporum continet aliud sicut partes cepe continent se mutuo. Et quanto exterius est corpus tanto est majus sicut videmus in figura, ex quo patet quod decem sunt celi et quatuor elementa. Nam celi sunt, ut celum Lune, celum Mercurii, celum Veneris, celum Solis, celum Martis, celum Jovis, celum Saturni, celum stellarum fixarum, celum aqueum, et celum empireum. Septem igitur celi sunt stellarum que vocantur planete—'planes' Grece est 'error' Latine—errant enim, hoc est moventur, nunc ad septentrionem nunc ad meridiem, et mutant figuram sue distancie. Stelle vero in celo octavo dicuntur fixe, quia figura distancie earum est uniformis, ut si tres stelle distent per latera trianguli semper sunt in eadem figura et distancia fixa. Set planete non servant hanc fixionem distancie eorum abinvicem, quia aliquando sunt simul, aliquando separantur. Motus enim stellarum fixarum aliquando est versus meridiem aliquando versus septentrionem.

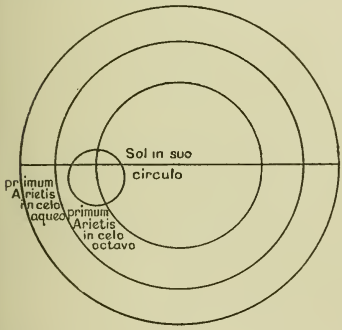
Elementa vero sunt quatuor, ut spera terre, spera aque, spera aeris, spera ignis. Et spera ignis revolvitur per revolucionem spere Lune, et spera aeris minus revolvitur et spera aque adhuc minus, set spera terre non, quia est centrum tocius spere mundi inmobile, circa quod omnia alia revolvuntur.

Set ad motus celorum intelligendos, oportet nos ymaginari circulos aliquos, et duo sunt principales, scilicet equinoccialis, qui dividit totum mundum in duas partes equales, et habitantes in terra sub illo circulo habent semper equinoccium, et ideo homines sunt ibi temperatissime complexionis et optime. Et hic circulus imaginandus est in celo octavo et nono, scilicet, in celo aqueo, et una medietas tendit vel declinat ad septentrionem, alia ad meridiem, et vocatur zodiacus, quia 'zoe' Grece est 'animal' Latine, et 'zons, hujus zontis', est 'vivens'. Dicitur ergo zodiacus circulus quidam in celo stellato, eo quod stelle habent in eo figuras hominis et animalium vivencium. Unde prima pars hujus circuli vocatur
8 a. Aries, quia stelle | congregantur in modum arietis sive in disposicione arietis. Et secunda pars Taurus, quia ibi est disposicio stellarum in forma tauri. Et tercia pars vocatur Gemini, quia ibi

est disposicio stellarum in forma duorum juvenum gemellorum. Et sic de omnibus aliis partibus zodiaci, que sunt duodecim in



universo, et vocantur signa quia per figuras suas significant animalia et homines. Et quodlibet signum habet .30. partes que vocantur gradus, et ideo in toto zodiaco sunt trescenti sexaginta, quia duodecies .30. fiunt trescenti sexaginta. Et quilibet gradus dividitur in .60. partes que dicuntur minuta, et quodlibet minutum dividitur in .60. partes que vocantur secunda, et quodlibet secundum in .60. partes que vocantur tercia. Et sic ulterius, quantum volumus in consideracionibus astronomie, per quarta, quinta, sexta, et ultra.



Et iste zodiacus, qui est circulus in celo octavo, dicitur zodiacus mobilis, quia celum stellatum in quo ymaginamur hunc circulum movere, set sicut principalis circulus equinoccialis erit incelo nono ymaginan dus preter illum qui est in celo octavo, sic zodiacus principalis est in celo nono et habet .12. signa et trescentos sexaginta gradus, quia quodlibet de .12. signis habet. 30. gradus. Et hic zodiacus celi noni dicitur inmobilis et equinoccialis ejus, dicitur equinoccialis inmobilis, quia celum aqueum non movetur.

Sol igitur currit in medio zodiaci utriusque in quodam circulo qui vocatur linea ecliptica, et non declinat ab ea, set alii planete declinant sepe et aliquando sunt sub illa. Et stellatum celum movetur sub gradibus zodiaci celi noni, i. e. aquei, set non nisi uno gradu in centum annis. Cum ille tamen zodiacus celi aquei habet trescentos sexaginta gradus sicut omnis circulus vel spera in

celis imaginatus, nec potest perfici motus iste nisi in triginta sex milibus annorum, et ideo videtur quod nunquam perficietur, quia non creditur quod tantum erit a principio mundi usque in finem,
8 b. set longe | minus. Celum vero Saturni grossa computacione perficit motum suum in utroque zodiaco in .30. annis; Jupiter in duodecim annis; Mars in duobus; Sol in anno; Venus et Mercurius fere sicut Sol; Luna per mensem lunarem que continet 27 dies et horas 8. Et cum quolibet die naturali moventur in circuitu terre, sicut videmus, ab ortu ad ortum, et hic motus non contradicit priori motui, immo unus motus sunt. Quia dum pertransit Sol unum gradum fere in die naturali in zodiaco fertur in circuitu terre, et in sequenti die perficit gradum illum, et intrat alium gradum fere usque in finem per revolucionem suam circa terram, et ideo unus et idem motus sunt, licet diversos habent respectus et nomina.

Nam quando Sol est in capite Libre immobilis in celo aqueo in ortu, fertur super terram in die usque ad occasum, et in nocte sub terra usque ad ortum, set non redit ad capud Libre unde incepit set declinat fere usque ad finem Libre, quia in motu suo ab ortu usque ad ortum non facit circulum verum set speram; quia circulus terminatur ad illud punctum a quo incepit, set spera incipit ab uno puncto et terminatur in alio. Ut si Sol et capud Libre in celo octavo sint simul sub capite Libre in celo aqueo in ortu, capud Libre in celo octavo revolvitur cicius quam Sol, et ideo non venit Sol ad ortum secundo die ita cito sicut capud Libre mobilis, et Sol relinquitur retro, scilicet, in fine primi gradus Libre mobilis. Et sic est omni die anni per singula signa. Et Sol movetur motu proprio ab oriente in circuitu terre et non per raptum octave spere, licet imperiti sint hic decepti.

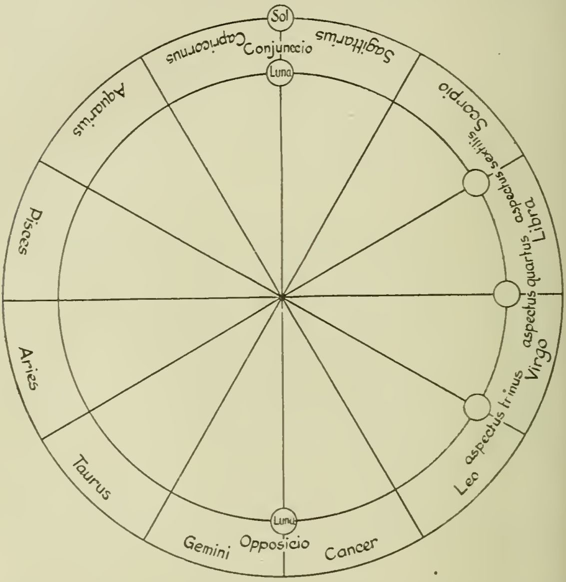
16 immobilis] ymaginabilis MS.

Capitulum septimum de proprietatibus planetarum et signorum de quibus loquitur Aristotiles in hoc libro, et de sex modis alteracionis rerum inferiorum in hoc mundo tam animatarum quam inanimatarum per virtutem planetarum: et primo de alteracione que fit secundum naturam planetarum.

NOtanda sunt quedam nunc, sive addenda, de proprietatibus planetarum et signorum, sine quorum noticia non possunt magnalia intelligi que scribit. De Luna est sciendum quod Luna est frigida et humida virtute et effectu in istis rebus inferioribus, quia facit humorem et frigus in eis. Mercurius eciam est magis indifferens ad calidum et siccum, frigidum et humidum quam temperatus vel distemperatus, quia recipit vel respicit ex conjunccione aliorum planetarum, et ex signis bonas vel malas disposiciones. | Venus est calida et humida, magis tamen humida 9 a. quam calida humiditate aerea. Sol est calidus et temperatus in humore, set ejus calor non est corrumpens vel corruptus ut igneus, set generatus et similis calori anime, vel calori in anima, qui est calor naturalis in homine, et similiter ejus temperacio in humore et siccitate est ineffabilis utilitatis mundo inferiori. Mars est superflue calidus vel superflue caliditatis et siccitatis, et ideo nocivus multum nisi ejus malicia temperetur bonitate signi vel signorum, vel per conjunccionem cum bonis planetis aut aspectu bono illorum. Jupiter est calidus et humidus humiditate aerea et humore aereo plus quam Venus, et est salus mundi post Solem. Nam tante bonitatis est quod cum Luna conjungatur ei in eodem signo, et aliquis recipiat medicinam laxativam, destruitur effectus medicine, quia medicina laxativa omnis preter reubarbarum est venenosa, et ideo virtus Jovis destruit ejus effectum cum in recepcione medicine Jupiter conjungitur Lune. Saturnus est pessimus et venenosus, quia est frigidus et siccus et causa mortis, et tamen ipse est utilis mundo, sicut scamonea que est venenosa est utilis medicine, quia acuit medicinam ut faciat operacionem suam. Quia per bonitatem aliorum planetarum et stellarum fixarum mundus efflueret et, ut ita dicam, lasciviret et lederetur superfluitate bonitatis, nisi temperaretur per maliciam Saturni et Martis, sicut bona hominis complexio nutrita a superfluis delectacionibus deflueret in lesionem et corrupcionem. Stelle vero fixe alique sunt de natura Lune, alique Mercurii, alique Veneris, alique Solis, alique Martis, alique Saturni.

De secundo modo alteracionis mundi per aspectus planetarum.

BOnitas et malicia planetarum sive qualitates dicte earum, augmentantur vel remittuntur vel temperantur per eorum aspectum vel aspectus adinvicem, scilicet per conjunccionem suam in eadem parte zodiaci, hoc est in eodem signo, sicut accidit de Sole et Luna in novilunio: et per oppositum in contrariis



partibus quando distant per medium ćelum sicut accidit in plenilunio de Luna et Sole. Et quando distant per duo signa abinvicem, vocatur sextilis aspectus, quia per sextam partem zodiaci distant, quia duo sunt sexta pars de duodecim. Et quando distant per tria signa vocatur quartus aspectus, quia đistant per
9 b. quartam partem zodiaci. Et quando distant per quatuor | signa vocatur trinus aspectus, quia distant per terciam partem zodiaci. Alterant igitur seipsos per mutuo et temperant per istos quinque aspectus.

De tercio modo alteracionis mundi per appropinquacionem planetarum ad terram et eorundem elongacionem a terra.

ITem virtutes eorum respectu mundi inferioris debilitantur et fortificantur per appropinquacionem ad terram et elongacionem, quia aliquando descendunt versus terram, aliquando ascendunt versus celum.

De quarta alteracione virtutum planetarum.

AUgmentantur vel remittuntur vel temperantur virtutes planetarum tribus aliis modis, secundum quod sunt in signis diversis vel domibus, que sunt partes principales celi vel mundi, secundum quod currunt sub signis et partibus orbis, quia quando dicimus planetam esse in signo vel domo, sub signo intelligimus vel domo quia per infinitum spacium respectu nostri distant omnes planete a signis in celo stellato preter Saturnum. Et ille per magnum spacium distat quando est in propinquitate sua ad terram.

De signis.

AD horum noticiam oportet scire qualitates signorum. Sciendum igitur quod Aries, Leo, Sagittarius sunt ignea, scilicet, calida et sicca : Taurus, Virgo, et Capricornus sunt terrea, scilicet, frigida et sicca : Gemini, Libra, et Aquarius sunt aerea, scilicet, calida et humida : Cancer, Scorpius, et Pisces sunt aquatica, scilicet, frigida et humida. Et hec diversitas currit super hanc regulam ; quod si quodcunque signum primo sumatur, quintum ab eo et nonum erunt ejusdem complexionis, ut exemplificatum est. Quando igitur planeta calidus est sub signo calido, augmentatur ejus calor, et quando sub frigido debilitatur ejus calor, et sic de aliis. Sciendum igitur tam pro | signis quam 10 planetis, quod nullam caliditatem nec frigiditatem nec siccitatem nec humiditatem in sua substancia habent et natura, set habent virtutem calefaciendi elementa et ea que in eis sunt, et frigefaciendi et exsiccandi et humectandi vel humefaciendi ex sua

1 *In marg.* 'De tercio modo alteracionis per existenciam eorum in suis locis, scilicet, suorum epiciclorum sive deferencium secundum quod sunt in parte superiori vel inferiori vel in mediis.'

7 *In marg.* 'De quarta alteracione virtutum planetarum secundum quod sunt in diversis signis vel domibus respectu celi.'

potestate; sicut vinum non est calidum et siccum de sua substancia set frigidum et humidum, et tamen calefacit et exsiccat. Et vinum inebriat, non tamen est ebrium, et sic de infinitis.

De quinta alteracione planetarum respectu dignitatis et detrimenti quas consequntur in signis dictis.

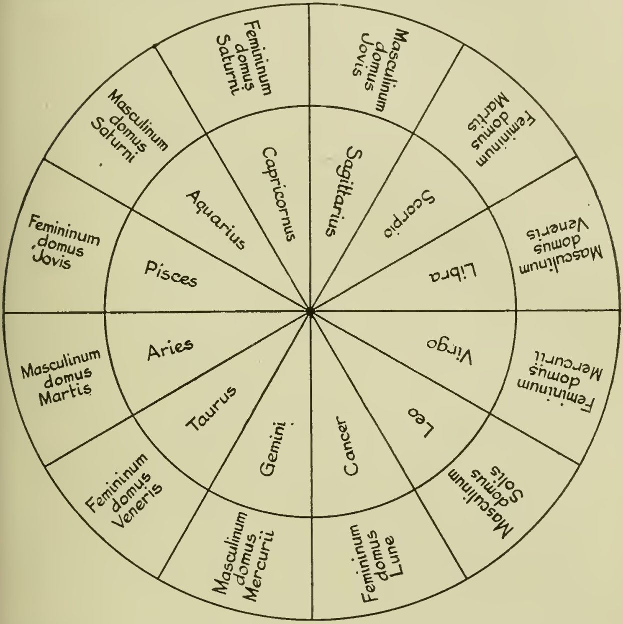
QUinta alteracio planetarum est respectu signorum quantum ad miras virtutes vel detrimenta virtutum. Et sunt quinque prerogative virtutum que vocantur dignitates planetarum, et sunt nomina earum significativa per similitudinem sumpta a potestatibus regis et dignitatibus, et que dicuntur: Domus, Exaltacio, Triplicitas, Facies, Terminus.

Rex enim quando est in domo sua est in maxima dignitate. Quando vero est extra domum et palacium alibi in regno habet dignitatem et sublimitatem, set non tanta utitur sicut in palacio et domo. Et ideo dicitur secunda dignitas et vocatur exaltacio. Quando vero est inter amicos vocatur triplicitas, quia perfecta amicicia non est nisi in tribus, ut caritas Patri et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Quando vero relucet virtus ejus coram hominibus vocatur facies, et dicitur sic quia facies manifesta est pre aliis partibus corporis. Quando vero est in terminis sui regni tunc minima est dignitas, et ideo quinta dignitas vocatur terminus. Et sic methaphorice dicuntur dignitates planetarum. Et dignitas domus continet quinquies dignitatem termini; exaltacio continet quatuor terminos; triplicitas tria terminos; facies duos terminos.

Sciendum igitur quod quilibet planeta habet de numero signorum duas domos, preter Solem et Lunam. Unde Saturnus habet Capricornum et Aquarium: Jupiter Sagittarium et Pisces: Mars Scorpium et Arietem: Venus Libram et Taurum: Mercurius Geminos et Virginem: Luna habet Cancrum: Sol, Leonem. Quoniam vero auctor istius libri non loquitur nisi de domibus, et quasi nichil de aliis, ideo dimitto prosequi alias quatuor dignitates.

Similiter oportet scire pro isto libro quod quedam signa dicuntur
10 b. masculina, quedam feminina, et planete similiter. Et hec | nomina sunt translata planetis et signis figurative, quia masculus est majoris virtutis et femina minoris, ut videmus in omnibus vel hominibus, ideo planete et signa majoris virtutis dicuntur mascu-

lina, minoris feminina. Unde Sol, Mars, et Jupiter sunt masculina; Luna, Venus, Saturnus feminini vel feminei; Mercurius in omnibus est indifferens. Aries, qui est primum signum, est masculinus; Taurus femininus; Gemini masculinus; similiter Cancer

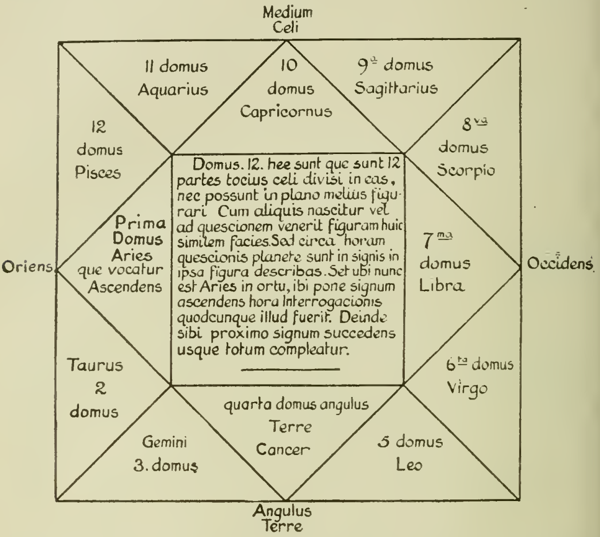


femininus. Et sunt per ordinem signorum semper unus masculinus et alius femininus.

De sexta alteracione que fit per planetas secundum quod sunt in diversis domibus respectu terre.

Aliter sumuntur domus per divisionem tocius celi in partes duodecim, et distinguntur sic. Nam ab ortu sub terra usque ad angulum terre sunt tres domus, scilicet, prima, secunda, tercia. Angulus autem terre est punctus in celo sub terra oppositus puncto in medio celi super terram. Et inter angulum et ortum est quarta

pars celi, tres domus, scilicet predicte. Et ab angulo terre usque ad occasum sunt alie tres domus, et secunda quarta celi in qua sunt quarta, quinta, et sexta domus. Et ab occasu ad punctum in medio celi super terra est alia quarta et alie tres domus, scilicet,



septima, octava, nona. Et a medio puncto celi super terram usque ad ortum est ultima quarta celi et tres domus ultime, scilicet, decima, undecima, et duodecima.

Et prima domus vocatur ascendens, quia oritur et ascendit

In marg.
In 21 gradu Arietis est casus Saturni.
in 20 gradu Arietis exaltacio Veneris [*sic*] *set* Solis.
Exaltacio Lune in 3° gradu Tauri.
Casus Draconis in 3° gradu Geminorum.
Exaltacio Draconis 3° Gradu Sagittarii.
28° gradu Cancri casus Martis.
Exaltacio Jovis 15° gradu Cancri.
In Leonem nullus exaltatur.
In 28 gradu Virginis casus Veneris.
Exaltacio Mercurii in 15 gradu Virginis
Libra casus Solis 19 gradu.
Exaltacio Saturni 21 gradu.
Casus Lune 3 gradu Scorpionis.
3° gradu Sagitarii casus capitis.
ereccio caude 3 gradu Sagittarii.
Casus Jovis 15 gradu Capricorni.
Exaltacio Martis 28 gradu.
In Aquario nullus exaltatur.
Pisces casus Mercurii 15 gradu.
Exaltacio Veneris 20 gradu Piscium.

super terram et terrena. Mira igitur varietas planetarum est et signorum per istas domos in alteracione mundi inferioris, et de omnibus aliis que tetigi. Que autem sit racio specialis de istis domibus et omnibus aliis que tetigi non pertinet ad hanc disposicionem meam, set queratur in libris astronomie, et maxime in libro Albumazar qui vocatur *Introductorius in Judicia Astronomie.* Et tamen in locis certis istius libri, in quibus hec necessaria sunt, multa posui utilia. Et addo hic figuram signorum ad evidenciam magnam (p. 22). |

De Gloria Inestimabili est sciendum quod excellit omnes medi- 11 a.
cinas in libris medicorum scriptas in conservacione sanitatis et virium custodia, tam in anima quam in corpore, cujus laudes patent in textu si non fuerit corruptus, similiter quas res recipit et qualiter preparantur et conficiuntur patet ex litera. Set quia nomina sunt Greca aliqua et Arabica plura, et preter hoc textus est corruptus per malos scriptores et falsus in multis libris, queratur que res debet ingredi talem medicinam ex libris Plinii et ex libro Arthephii philosophi quem composuit de tali medicina, qui gloriatur se vixisse 1025 annis per illam medicinam in fortitudine virium et bona memoria, et similiter ex libro *de Accidentibus Senectutis*, et sufficienter invenientur, et conficiantur secundum modum quem docet auctor. Set in confeccione considera ultimam .13. condicionum quam scripsimus in nostro *Antidotario* de medicinarum confeccione, una cum dictis hic, et habebis medicinam completam. Set pro toto generaliter si aliud non poterit fieri, eligantur res cujus proprietates sunt necessarie et medicine cardinales mineras virtutum confortantes et se sigillantes et conservantes, et deinde preparetur corpus equalis complexionis quod non subjacet putrefaccioni, ita quod possit converti in nutrimentum sicud alius cibus, et misceatur cum predictis in debita proporcione, et reducatur totum ad equalitatem cum re rectificante, et ponatur totum in congregacione radiorum per aliquot dies, et habebis Gloriam Inestimabilem. Cujus virtus provenit ex quatuor, supposita debita preparacione, et fideli eleccione, scilicet, ex proprietate rerum sigillancium se, et bona proporcione, et debita conmixtione, et celestis virtutis irradiacione. Et ideo potest esse bona, melior, et optima.

Item, sciendum est quod sapientes laboraverunt ut in aliquo

29 possit] possi MS.

comestibili vel potabili reducerent elementa ad equalitatem vel prope, et docuerunt vias ad hoc. Set propter difficultatem istius experiencie maximam, tum quia pauci curant de experiencia, 11 b. quia multiplex est | ibi labor et expensarum magna effusio, nec advertunt homines nature secreta et artis possibilia, ideo accidit quod paucissimi laboraverunt in hujusmodi archanorum maximo, et pauciores venerunt ad finem laudabilem. Multi tamen venerunt sicut in Sciencia Experimentali alibi scripsimus, et unum temporibus nostris vidimus, et credimus quod adhuc vivat in Almannia, et habet litteras papales in testimonium sue etatis. Et consimilis effectus possunt fieri unguenta et pociones, et ista cum dictis in litera intellectu vigentibus sufficiunt ad presens.

Explicit tractatus.

NOTE.—Between this tract and the Secretum Secretorum a number of extracts from the *Opus Tertium* follow, of which the following account is given by Professor Little in his edition.

(2) Item capitulum extractum de quodam opere quod fecit idem frater Rogerus Bacun de ordine minorum ad mandatum pape et valet ad exposicionem dictorum et dicendorum in textu. 'Sequitur de sciencia experimentali . . . sicut aves inviscatas. Explicit' fol. 6^{r}–8^{r}, [pp. 43–54, *Opus Tertium*, ed. Little].

(3) Item bene post in eodem libro dicit: 'Deinde cogitavi opus aliud mittere . . . et sic terminatur intencio operis utriusque et sic explicit' (fol. 8^{r}) [pp. 77–9].

(4) Item aliud capitulum ejusdem fratris Rogeri Bacun de ordine minorum de potestate verbi et illud capitulum est extractum de prima parte majoris operis quod fecit ad mandatum pape Clementis. 'Deinde comparo linguarum utilitatem ad ecclesiam Dei . . . quia natura est instrumentum divine operacionis. Explicit capitulum' (fol. 8^{r}–9^{r}) [*Opus Tertium*, cap. xxvi; Brewer, pp. 95–100].

(5) Item aliud capitulum ejusdem fratris Rogeri de eadem materia. 'Vestre [MS. Nestre] peticioni respondeo diligenter . . . inflammatur et lucent' (fol. 9^{r}–11^{r}) [Epistola de secretis operibus artis et naturae, capp. i–v, and the first lines of cap. vi; Brewer, pp. 523–36].

(6) Item frater Rogerus Bacun in tercio opere sic dicit: sed quod hic scribitur usque ad perspectivam non est in majori opere, sed tamen illud idem in secundo opere lacius continetur et aliter explicatur. 'Post hec sequitur operacio mathematice ad rem publicam . . . veniunt Christiani' (fol. 11^{r}–13^{v}) [pp. 1–19].

SECRETUM SECRETORUM

INcipit primus prologus Philippi in libro moralium 26 b.
de regimine regum principum ac dominorum qui dicitur Secretum Secretorum ab Aristotile philosopho editus ad peticionem Alexandri Magni, in quo ultima secreta nature sub velamine traduntur, sicut in prologo patet, et in capitulo tercio. Quem librum transtulit Philippus de lingua Arabica in Latinam ad peticionem Guydonis de Valencia civitatis Napolis pontificis. Et intitulatur Liber Decem Scienciarum a quibusdam sapientibus ; et dividitur in partes quatuor sive libros quatuor, et cujuslibet partis sive libri sunt capitula plurima. Et notabilia que superscribuntur in locis certis et glosa interlinearis sunt fratris Rogeri Bacun de ordine fratrum minorum.

DOmino suo excellentissimo in cultu religionis 27 a.
Christiane strenuissimo Guidoni Vere de Valencia, civitatis metropolis glorioso pontifici, Philippus suorum minimus clericorum seipsum et devocionis obsequium. Quantum Luna ceteris stellis est lucidior, et Solis radius luciditate Lune fulgencior : tantum ingenii vestri claritudo, vestreque sciencie profunditas cunctos citra mare modernos in literatura exuberat, tam barbaros quam Latinos. Nec est aliquis sane mentis qui huic sciencie valeat refragari.

Quia cum Largitor graciarum, a quo bona cuncta procedunt, singula suis singulis dona sua distribuit, tibi soli

videtur scienciarum plenitudinem et graciarum contulisse. In te namque reperiuntur sanctorum gracie universe: Noe justicie et sanctitas, Abrahe fidelitas, Ysaac confidencia, Jacob longanimitas, Moysi tollerancia, Josue stabilitas, Helye devocio, Helysei perfeccio, Davit benignitas, sensus Salomonis, Job paciencia, castitas Danielis, Ysaie fecunditas, perseverancia Hieremie, cum ceteris sanctorum virtutibus in tua plenissime habitant sanctitate. Adhuc tu in scienciis liberalibus litteratissimus, in divinis et moralibus doctissimus, in ecclesiasticis et legalibus peritissimus. Ideo dignum fuit ut haberet vestra clemencia librum presentis operis, in quo fere de omnibus aliquid utile continetur.

Cum igitur vobiscum essem apud Antiochiam, reperta hac preciosissima philosophie margarita, placuit vestre dominacioni ut transfereretur de lingua Arabica in Latinam. Porro vestro mandato cupiens humiliter obedire et voluntati vestre, sicut teneor, deservire, hunc librum, quo carebant Latini eo quod apud paucissimos Arabes invenitur, transtuli cum magno labore et lucido sermone de Arabico ydiomate in Latinum ad vestram magnitudinem gloriam et honorem, eliciens quandoque ex littera litteram, et quandoque sensum
27 b. ex sensu, cum | alius loquendi modus sit apud Arabes alius apud Latinos. Quem librum peritissimus princeps philosophorum Aristotiles composuit ad peticionem regis Alexandri, discipuli sui. Qui postulavit ab eo, ut ad ipsum veniret, et secretum quarundam artium sibi fideliter revelaret, videlicet, motum, operacionem, et potestatem astrorum in astronomia, et artem alkimie in natura, et artem cognoscendi naturas, et operandi incantaciones, et celimanciam, et geomanciam.

Qui quidem ire non potuit propter etatem senescentem et corporis gravitatem, et quamvis secreta predictarum artium sive scienciarum occultare modis omnibus proposuerat, tamen voluntati et postulacioni tanti domini nec ausus fuit nec debuit contraire. Volens itaque in parte imperatori satisfacere et in parte secreta artium occultare, hunc librum edidit, loquens enigmatibus et exemplis et figura-

tivis locucionibus, docens extrinsecus literatenus philosophicam doctrinam pertinentem ad dominium dominorum, ad sanitatem corporis conservandam, et ad ineffabilem utilitatem et cognicionem corporum supracelestium adquirendam. Intrinsecus vero medullatenus innuit enigmatice et secrete Alexandro principale propositum, quod ab eodem instantissime postulaverat. Dividens utique presentem codicem in distinciones sive libros quatuor, quorum quilibet continet in se capitula et particulas terminatas, ut vero sub certis capitulis vel titulis in promptu et cicius inveniatur quod queritur, ego ad utilitatem legencium in libri principio collegi et descripsi librorum principia et omnia capitula titulorum.

Vestre igitur clemencie, pater clementissime, istud devoveo opus, quod ad vestram transtuli gloriam et honorem, ut mei memoria | apud vos firma maneat, et appareat erga vestrum 28 a.
obsequium devocio mentis mee, supplicans humiliter et devote, quatenus si quid in hoc opere utile reperiatur vel acceptum, ejus dono referatur qui mihi contulit graciam transferendi, et Aristotili componendi, si quid autem minus recte inveniatur vel inconvenienter propositum, hoc mee impericie et stoliditati reputetur pocius quam malicie. Attamen vestra facundia, quam novi certissime in diccionum interpretacione et loquendi proprietate fideliter et fertiliter habundare, suplenda supleat et corrigat corrigenda. Et divina potencia vos diu custodiat sanum et incolumem ad fidelium gloriam et honorem, et post longissima temporum spacia concedat vobis ad eternum beatitudinis gaudium feliciter pervenire.

8 quatuor] decem *Vulgate text* 14 clemencie] prudencie *V* devoveo] de novo MS. 20 Aristotili] Aristotilem MS.

Hic liber habet quatuor partes. Prima est de regum varietate et moribus eorum et regimine. Secunda pars est de regimine sanitatis. Tercia est de mirabilibus utilitatibus nature et artis et morum. Quarta est de mirabili eleccione amicorum et bajulorum regis per naturales proprietates corporum ; et hec sciencia vocatur Phisonomia.

Capitula prime partis.

[1] *In a later hand*: 'Item de puella nutrita in domo patris sui que sciebat astronomiam, et vituperacione clericorum famosorum et senum in studio qui ignorant ea que puella sciebat.'

que requiruntur ad composicionem integram illius medicine que vocatur Gloria Inestimabilis, que omnem curat egritudinem, calidam, frigidam, siccam, et humidam, sicut ex composicione patet bene consideranti, qua habita et bene preparata nulla alia est necessaria cum ipsa pro omnibus sufficiat. ⟨p. 99⟩

Prima medicina confortat cerebrum, cor, et stomachum. ⟨p. 99⟩

Secunda medicina corroborat stomachum et constringit, et purgat malos et putridos humores qui sunt in stomacho sine abhominacione et violencia et sine aliqua lesione, confortat insuper pectus, cerebrum, et cathenam corporis. ⟨p. 100⟩

Medicina .3. corroborat omnia membra et maxime principalia. ⟨p. 101⟩

Medicina .4. juvat appetitum et instrumentum pectoris et pulmonem. ⟨p. 101⟩

Medicina .5. expellit melancoliam, subtiliat flegma, tollit superfluas humiditates, stomachum temperat, aperit constipacionem et expellit ventositatem. ⟨p. 102⟩

Medicina .6. lenit pectus et confert respiracioni, reparat stomachum et repellit dolorem dencium. ⟨p. 102⟩

Medicina .7. proprie reparat stomachum et fugat ventositatem. ⟨p. 102⟩

Medicina .8. emendat epar, reparat cor, et confortat et roborat universa membra interiora. ⟨p. 103⟩

Medicina .9. ex istis .8. medicinis predictis cum melle predicto et quibusdam aliis additis componitur que Gloria Inestimabilis nuncupatur, cujus laudes patent in fine capituli, et in hac nona et ultima composicione tangit philosophus ultimum secretum nature si advertatur ; set illud sine diligenti studio et intellectu subtili scienciaque maxima non percipietur sive apprehendetur cujus effectum consequetur sapientissimus. Beatus ergo ad quem per-
31 a. veniet capituli apprehensio et finis | exsecucio quoniam princeps vere et mundo dominari poterit et elementis. ⟨p. 103⟩

Capitulum .30. de tempore flebotomie et medicinarum tam digestivarum quam laxativarum, scarificacionis et ventosarum apposicionis, et quod nichil est faciendum sine consilio scientis astronomiam, scilicet, quo tempore debet fieri apercio vene et quid est considerandum circa illud, quid eligendum quid cavendum, similiter de tempore scarificacionis faciende et ventose apponende, et de horis competentibus pro laxativa sumenda, et quod medicus debet scire loca planetarum et aspectus eorum adinvicem, et in quo signo fuerit Sol et Luna, quia principium operis debet esse secundum bonam constellacionem Lune et ejus absenciam a malis. ⟨p. 108⟩

Expliciunt capitula partis secunde et sunt triginta.

I*Ncipiunt capitula partis tercie.*

Capitulum primum partis tercie est de alkimistis et de conversione cujuslibet in quodlibet, sive elementorum adinvicem, scilicet, unius elementi in alterum per artem. ⟨p. 114⟩

Incipiunt capitula partis quarte.

Expliciunt capitula partis quarte. 2 b.

b 32 b. *Capitulum primum de prologo cujusdam doctoris in comendacione Aristotilis.*

Dedication by Arabic writer.

DEus omnipotens custodiat regem nostrum gloriam credencium, et confirmet regnum suum ad tuendam legem divinam et suam, et perdurare faciat ipsum ad exaltandam honorem et laudem bonorum.

Title of the book.

Made for Alexander

Ego suus serviens executus mandatum mihi injunctum dedi operam ad inquirendam librum moralium in regimine dominii qui vocatur Secretum Secretorum, quem edidit princeps philosophorum Aristotiles filius Nichomachi de Macedonia discipulo suo magno imperatori Alexandro filio Philippi regis Grecorum. Qui Alexander dicitur duo cornua [1] habuisse.

by Aristotle in his old age.

Praise of Aristotle.

Hunc quidem librum composuit in sua senectute et virtutum corporalium debilitate, postquam non poterat cotidianos labores et viarum discrimina tollerare, nec regalia negocia excercere. Quia Alexander constituit eum magister et prepositum, quem elegerat et dilexerat multum, eo quod erat vir magni consilii et sani et literature magne, penetrabilis intellectus, vigilans in legalibus studiis, in gratuitis moribus et spiritualibus scienciis, contemplativus, caritativus, discretus, humilis, amator justicie, relator veritatis. Et
33 a. propter hoc multi | philosophorum reputabant ipsum de numero prophetarum. Invenitur enim in antiquis codicibus Grecorum quod Deus excelsus suum angelum destinavit ad eum dicens: Pocius nominabo te angelum quam hominem.

Counted among the prophets.

Peripatetics.

Aristotle taken up to heaven.

Sane multa habet [2] prodigia et magna miracula et extranea opera que nimis esset longum cuncta per ordinem enarrare, unde de morte sua diverse sunt opiniones. Quedam enim secta que dicitur peripathetica asserit ipsum ascendisse ad empireum celum in columpna ignis.[3]

[1] Cornua duo significant duo regna, scilicet, Grecie et Asie que optinuit.

[2] Aristotiles scilicet in libris suis.

[3] Hec est sentencia philosophorum paganorum, set nobis

1 Chapter i, *V.*

Dum igitur viveret, convaluit Alexander in sanitatis observacione per observanciam sui sani consilii et imitacione precepti. Et ideo subjugavit sibi civitates, et triumphans adquisivit sibi cuncta regna, et tocius mundi solus tenuit monarchiam, et in omnem terram exivit fama sua, et per omnia mundi climata omnes gentes et diverse naciones subiciebantur suo imperio et precepto, Arabes atque Perses,

33 b.

Alexander followed his advice and became master of the world.

Christianis non est licitum hoc sentire nec firmare, quia nisi habuisset fidem Christi revelatam ei aut fuisset instructus a prophetis, salvari non potuit. Nescimus tamen quid Deus fecerit ei et aliis dignis prophetis et philosophis, quibus dedit magnalia sapiencie. Nam Plato expressit Trinitatem, sicut docet Augustinus libro *De civitate Dei*, et alii doctores hoc firmant, et multa nobilia sensit de Deo et angelis et vita futura. Aristotiles vero, discipulus Platonis set longe transgrediens magistrum suum, dicit in principio *Celi et Mundi* sic : 'Magnificamus adorare deum unum et trinum eminentem proprietatibus eorum que sunt creata. Nam hunc numerum trinitatis extraximus a natura rerum : omne enim et totum et perfectum ponimus in tribus, scilicet, in principio medio et fine.' Pater est principium, Filius est medium, Spiritus Sanctus finis. Set licet hec tria nomina—Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus—non expressit hic, tamen in lege sua vel alibi presumendum est quod hec percepit, quia in lege sua habuit tres oraciones et tria sacrificia ad honorem Trinitatis. Et Plato expressit patrem et paternam mentem et utriusque amorem mutuum, ut sancti docent. Multo ergo magis Aristotiles, ejus sectator in omnibus veris et ad majora perveniens, credidit beatam Trinitatem. Legimus enim in vita beati Dyonisii quod antequam fuit conversus ipse et alii crediderunt Deum hominem salvatorem mundi venturum, quem vocabant Deum ignotum cui etiam fecerunt Athenis aram quam vocabant Aram Deo ignoto. Et Avicenna .9. libro. *Methaphisice* docet resureccionem. Et Democritus antiquior omnibus similiter, sicut Plinius scribit libro. 7. Et Ethicus astronomus, testante Hieronimo, multa sensit de Christo in libro quem transtulit illius philosophi. Multaque hic allegari possunt de | dictis philosophorum que saltem sunt in consolacionem fidei nostre. Habuerunt enim quedam preludia fidei, set quod sufficientem fidem habuerunt non debemus ponere, nec tamen debemus affirmare dampnacionem aliquorum dignissimorum virorum, quia nescimus quid fecerit eis Deus, licet non fuerunt sub lege, sicut nec beatus Job.

Christians cannot believe this.

Aristotle's belief near to that of Christians.

Plato.

St. Denis the Areopagite.

Avicenna.

Ethicus.

33 b.

We must not assume the damnation of such persons.

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12 **Augustinus**] lib. viii. c. 4.   16 **Celi et Mundi**] lib. i. c. 2.

31 **Avicenna**] lib. ix. c. 7.

neque fuit gens aliqua que auderet ei resistere in facto vel dicto.

Aristotle wrote many letters.

Porro multas morales epistolas composuit Aristotiles propter nimiam delectacionem cordium et finale secretum: una vero de suis epistolis est hec quam direxit Alexandro. Cum enim Alexander subjugavit sibi Perses et captivavit magnates direxit epistolam suam ad Aristotilem sub hac forma.

Alexander consulted him on the treatment of the Persians,

Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotilem consulatoria. O doctor egregie, rector justicie, significo tue prudencie me invenisse

34 a.

in terra Perses quasdam gentes habundantes racione | et intellectu penetrabili, studentes super alios dominari et regnum acquirere. Unde nos proponimus occidere universos. Quicquid super hoc decreveris, nobis significa tuis scripturis.

whether to slay them or no.

Responsio Aristotilis ad epistolam.

Aristotle answered,

Cui Aristotiles ita respondit. Si non potes illius terre mutare aerem et aquam, insuper et disposicionem[1] civitatum, imple tuum propositum.[2] Si potes dominari[3] super eos cum bonitate, exaudies eos cum benignitate. Quod si feceris, fiduciam habeas, cum Dei adjutorio, quod omnes erunt subjecti ad tuum beneplacitum et preceptum. Et per amorem quem habebunt in te dominaberis in eis cum triumpho pacifice.

advising clemency and benignity if he wished to rule in peace.

Alexander igitur, accepta epistola, suum adimplevit consilium diligenter, et erant Perses magis obedientes suo imperio quam omnes alie naciones.[4]

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[1] id est, malos mores.

[2] hoc est, interfice omnes sicud proposuisti.

[3] hoc est, si potes mutare aerem et aquam.

The influence of climate and soil on the character of men.

[4] Si non potes mutare illius terre aerem et aquam, etc. Hic tangit maximum secretum. Vult enim quod Alexander deberet mutare malas qualitates terre et aeris illarum regionum in bonas, ut hominum complexio mala mutaretur in bonam, et ut sic mali mores mutarentur in bonos. Per qualitates enim regionis cujuslibet invenitur complexio, et per complexionem excitatur homo

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9 Chapter ii. *V.* 15 Chapter iii. *V.*

Capitulum secundum ⟨de prologo⟩ Johannis qui transtulit librum bis, et de libri invencione. 34 b. C

JOhannes, qui transtulit librum istum, filius Patricii, linguarum interpretator peritissimus et fidelissimus, inquit: Non reliqui locum nec templum in quibus philosophi consueverunt componere et reponere sua opera secreta quod non visitavi, nec aliquem peritissimum quem credidi habuere aliquam noticiam de scriptis philosophicis quod non exquisivi, quousque veni ad oraculum Solis quod construxerat Esculapides pro se. In quo inveni quemdam virum solitarium, abstinentem, studentem in philosophia peritissimum, ingenio excellentissimum, cui me humiliavi in quantum potui, servivi diligenter et supplicavi devote ut mihi ostenderet secreta scripta illius oraculi. Qui mihi libenter tradidit.

Prologue of Yahya ibn Batrik.

Wanderings in search of wisdom.

The oracle of the Sun.

The secrets preserved there;

Et inter cetera, desideratum opus inveni propter quod ad illum locum iveram, et tempore longissimo laboraveram. Quo habito, cum gaudio ad propria remeavi, inde referens gracias multis modis Creatori. Et ad peticionem regis illustrissimi laboravi studens[1], et transtulii primo ipsum de lingua Greca in Caldeam, et de hac | in Arabicam. Inprimis igitur sicut inveni in isto codice transtuli librum peritissimi Aristotilis, in quo libro respondetur ad peticionem regis Alexandri sub hac forma.

among others this book.

I translated it from Greek into Syriac, and thence into Arabic.

35 a.

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ad mores, licet non cogatur, set ut gratis velit ea ad que qualitates regionis et complexio inclinant, ut in principio expositum est. Quod si non posset facere, tunc jussit ut omnes interficeret. Set qualiter deberent qualitates regionis immutari docet alibi in hoc libro. Set asini respuunt propter magnitudinem sapiencie, et propter modum loquendi, quia translator nomina aliqua ponit quibus utuntur magici, ut prius | in quaterno declaravi. Et multa exemplaria non habent illam doctrinam quia stulti non voluerunt scribere, set abraserunt a libris suis, sicut exemplaria quatuor que nunc inveni Oxonie non habuerunt illa, nec similiter multa alia, set Parisius habui exemplaria perfecta.

Mistaken criticism of the book

34 b.

Manuscripts at Oxford and Paris.

[1] vel, studiis.

.1 Chapter iv. *V.*

d

Capitulum tercium est epistola Aristotilis remissoria ad peticionem Alexandri in qua Alexandro conquerenti de eo incipit satisfacere sub hac forma: et de utilitate libri cogniti, et quid facit fervens desiderium in omni re.

The introductory letter of Aristotle to Alexander.

May God keep thee.

O Fili gloriosissime, imperator justissime, confirmet te Deus in via cognoscendi et in semita veritatis et virtutis, et reprimat appetitus bestiales, et tuum regnum corroboret, et illuminet tuum ingenium ad suum servicium et honorem. Tuam quidem epistolam recepi honorifice sicut decet, et plene intelexi quantum habes desiderium de mea persona ut tecum essem, mirans qualiter possum abstinere de te, arguens me de tuis operibus parum curare.

I have received your invitation.

I have written instructions for your guidance,

Porro hac de causa proposui et festinavi facere canonem tue clemencie, qui tibi erit libra ponderans cuncta tua opera, suplens vices meas, et regula certissima ad omnia que volueris, et que ostensurus essem si tecum presens essem. Non deberes siquidem me arguere, cum scias vel scire debeas quod non omitto venire ad tuam clemenciam et gloriam clarissimam propter contemptum, set quia gravitas etatis et debilitas corporis circumvenerunt | et reddiderunt me ponderosum atque inhabilem ad eundum. Preterea quod interrogasti et scire desideras est archanum tale quod humana pectora vix poterunt tollerare; quomodo ergo possunt in mortalibus pellibus depingi? Ad illud itaque quod te decet inquirere et mihi licitum est tractare, me oportet et teneor ex debito respondere, sicut tu teneris ex debito discrecionis non exigere a me amplius ex hoc secreto quod tibi tradidi in hoc libro. Quia si attente et studiose legeris et intellexeris et ad plenum sciveris que in ipso continentur, indubitanter credo quod non erit inter te et illud quod scire desideras aliquod obstaculum: quia tantam graciam Deus contulit tibi in intellectu et velocitate ingenii et literatura scienciarum. Insuper per meam doctrinam precedentem quam tibi tradidi, per teipsum poteris apprehendere et figurative intelligere

and would come to you if I could,

35 b.

but age forbids.

I send you all the secrets I dare divulge:

read and ponder them.

You can understand my teaching.

1 Chapter v. *V*.

14 libra] liber *V*

totum illud quod postulas edoceri. Quia desiderium ferventis voluntatis aperiet tibi viam ad tuum propositum optinendum, et perducet te ad finem optatum, Domino concedente.

You will attain your end.

Capitulum de hiis que oportet regem habere ad sustentacionem regni sui, et de causis bene regnandi, et de causa occultacionis secretorum per verba enigmatica; et est capitulum quartum. |

36 a.

CAusa quidem subest quare tibi figurative revelo secretum meum, loquens tecum exemplis enigmaticis atque signis, quia timeo nimium ne liber presencium ad manus deveniat infidelium et ad potestatem arrogancium, et sic perveniat ad illos ultimum bonum et archanum divinum, ad quod summus Deus illos judicavit immeritos et indignos. Ego sane transgressor essem tunc divine gracie et fractor celestis secreti et occulte revelacionis. Eapropter tibi, sub attestacione divini judicii, istud detego sacramentum eo modo quo mihi est revelatum. Scias igitur quod qui occulta detegit et archana revelat indignis, ipsum in proximo infortunia secuntur, unde securus esse non poterit a contingentibus et malis futuris. Dominus igitur custodiat te a consimili et ab omni opere inhonesto. Post hec autem omnia, ad tuam reduco memoriam illud salutissimum documentum quod tibi semper consuetus sum exponere, et tuam nobilissimam animam informare, et hoc erit tuum propositum solacium et speculum salutare. |

I speak in enigmas fearing lest the book fall into unworthy hands.

He shall suffer who reveals secrets to the unworthy.

Bear in mind my former teachings.

36 b.

Oportet itaque quemlibet regem de necessitate habere duo juvamina sustinencia regnum suum. Unum eorum est fortitudo virorum quibus tuetur et confortabitur regnum suum, et non habebit hoc, nisi quando rector in rectis et dominator in subditis dominetur, et ipsi subditi uniformiter obediunt dominanti, sicut propter inobedienciam subditorum debilitatur et subicitur potencia dominantis et regnantis, et subditi dominantur. Et ego ostendam tibi causam propter quam et per quam inducuntur subditi obedire dominanti. Causa quidem duplex est, una est intrinseca, et alia extrinseca. Et ego declarabo tibi nunc extrinsecam videlicet ut rex

The two supports of a kingdom: the first is strength of men.

Twofold cause of obedience in subjects: wise expenditure, just rewards.

dispenset eis suas divicias sapienter, et circa eos excerceat largitatem, retribuendo singulis secundum merita singulorum. Et cum toto isto, oportet regem habere aliam cautelam, de qua faciam tibi mencionem in sequentibus, scilicet, in capitulo de diviciis et juvaminibus. Secundum juvamen est inducere animos ad operaciones licitas, et istud precedit et est in primo gradu. Et istud secundum juvamen habet duas causas intrinsecam et extrinsecam. Causa extrinseca est ut

The second is a good disposition in his subjects.

Twofold cause of this.

37 a. rex justiciam | excerceat circa possessiones et adquisitas pecunias subditorum parciendo et miserando. Causa vero intrinseca est secretum antiquorum philosophorum et justorum consilium quos gloriosus Deus preelegit et eis suam scienciam commendavit. Et ego commendo tibi illud secretum cum quibusdam aliis que invenies in diversis capitulis sive titulis hujus libri. In quibus extrinsecus philosophiam maximam invenies et doctrinam, intrinsecus enim causa finalis que intenditur continetur, ibi enim est totum principale propositum et finale. Cum igitur perceperis significaciones secretorum et enigmata exemplorum, tunc plene et perfecte desideratum propositum consequeris. Deus itaque sapientissimus et gloriosissimus tuam illuminet racionem et clarificet intellectum ad percipiendum istius sciencie sacramentum, ut in ea merearis adipisci fructum veritatis, ut meus heres et successor fidelis efficiaris, ipso Deo adjuvante, qui suas divicias influit habundanter in animas sapientum, et studentibus tribuit graciam cognoscendi, cui nichil est difficile, nichil impossibile, sine quo nichil est possibile possidere (vel possideri).

Justice in the matter of heritages and possessions, and the secret of philosophers, which you will find here. Search for the esoteric meaning of its maxims, then, by the help of God, you will have attained all wisdom.

f

Four ways in which kings treat their subjects' wealth.

Capitulum quintum de regibus et eorum viciis circa largitate et avaricia, sive de quadruplici regum condicione.

REges sunt quatuor: rex largus sibi et largus subditis

37 b. suis, et rex avarus sibi et avarus subditis suis, | et rex avarus sibi et largus subditis, et rex largus sibi et avarus subditis. Italici itaque dixerunt, non est vicium in rege si est avarus sibi et largus subditis. Indi vero dixerunt, qui

Italians. Indians.

29 Chapter vi. *V.* Discourse I begins.

Persians.

est avarus sibi et suis subditis est bonus. Perses vero asserentes contrarium et contradicentes Indis et Ytalicis dixerunt, nichil valet rex qui non est largus sibi et subditis suis.

The worst kind of king.

Set inter omnes, judicio meo, pejor est ille et merito reprobandus qui est largus sibi et avarus subditis, quia regnum ejus cito destruetur.

What are largesse and avarice?

Oportet itaque nos subtiliter inquirere de istis virtutibus et viciis, et ostendere quid sit largitas et quid avaricia, et ubi est error largitatis, et quod malum sequetur ex abstinencia largitatis. Palam siquidem est, quod qualitates multum reprobande sunt quando multum discrepant a medio.

Largesse is a mean between waste and avarice.

Et scimus quod observancia largitatis multum difficilis est et ejus transgressio facilis. Et cuilibet facile est avariciam et prodigalitatem excercere, et difficile est retinere largitatem. Si vis largitatis virtutem acquirere, | considera posse tuum, et tempora necessitatis, et merita hominum. 38 a.

The proper objects for largesse are the poor and deserving,

Debes igitur largiri bona tua juxta posse tuum cum mensura hominibus indigentibus atque dignis. Qui igitur dat aliter peccat, et regulam transgreditur largitatis: quia qui largitur dona sua non indigentibus, nullam acquirit laudem, et quicquid datur indignis perditur.

not the rich or unworthy,

nor should it be too great.

Et qui fundit ultra modum divicias suas veniet cito ad amara littora paupertatis, et assimilatur illi qui gratis super se dat victoriam inimicis suis.

The king who gives due largesse is praised by the ancients,

Qui ergo dat de bonis suis tempore necessitatis hominibus indigentibus, talis rex est largus sibi et subditis, et ejus regnum prosperabitur, ejus mandatum observabitur. Talem regem laudaverunt antiqui, et talis dicitur virtuosus, largus, et moderatus.

while he who gives to the unworthy is a waster and destroyer.

Qui vero fundit regni sui bona immoderate seu inordinate, et indignis dat et non indigentibus, talis est depopulator reipublice, destructor regni, indignus et incompetens regimini. Unde prodigus apellatur, eo quod procul a regno suo est sua providencia.

Avarice disgraces a king.

Nomen avaricie dedecet multum regem et discon|venit regie magestati. Si igitur alterutrum istorum viciorum 38 b.

1 et suis] et largus suis MS. 7 Oportet] Oportet nos MS. 20 laudem] Vulgate inserts 'et largiens sine tempore suo, ipse est sicut spargens aquas salsas super litus maris'

A king should have a prudent counsellor.

habuerit, scilicet, avariciam vel prodigalitatem ; si velit sibi consulere, debet cum summa diligencia providere virum unum fidelem, discretum, et electum de multis, cui debet committere res publicas disponendas, et regni divicias gubernandas.

Capitulum sextum adhuc de hiis que pertinent largitati et declinacioni prodigalitatis et avaricie.

A king may destroy himself and his kingdom by prodigality.

O Alexander, firmiter dico tibi quod quisquis regum superflue continuat donaciones ultra quam regnum suum possit sustinere, talis rex proculdubio destruitur, et destruit. Dico igitur iterum propter illud, quod nunquam cessavi dicere clemencie tue, quod declinacio prodigalitatis et avaricie et acquisicio largitatis est gloria regum et perhennitas regnorum. Et hoc fit quando rex se abstinet et retrahit manum suam a bonis et possessionibus subditorum. Unde invenitur scriptum in preceptis magni doctoris Hermogenis quod summa et vera bonitas et claritas intellectus et plenitudo legis ac perfeccionis signum est in rege abstinencia a pecuniis et possessionibus subditorum.

The glory of a king.

The teaching of Hermogenes.

Why the kingdom of Syria fell.

Que fuit causa destructionis regni Caldeorum? Nonne quia superfluitas expensarum | 39 a. superabat redditus civitatum, et sic, deficientibus redditibus et expensis reges extenderunt manus suas ad res et redditus aliorum ? Subditi vero propter injuriam clamaverunt ad Deum excelsum et gloriosum, qui mittens ventum validum afflixit eos vehementer. Et insurrexit populus contra eos, et nomina eorum de terra penitus deleverunt. Et nisi Deus gloriosus eis subvenisset, et immisisset remedium quod immisit, et ventum mitigasset, destructum fuisset penitus regnum illud.

Prodigal kings are tempted to despoil their subjects, and thus raise rebellions.

Wealth is the life of a kingdom.

Scias itaque quod divicie sunt causa duracionis regni et vite animalis, et sunt pars vite ipsius, et non potest durare anima si talis causa destruatur. Cavendum est itaque nimis a superfluitate et superhabundancia expensarum. Ut igitur temperancia et largitas acquirantur, stulta et superflua donacio est vitanda. Et de substancia largitatis et virtutis

Avoid foolish giving.

5 Chapter vii. *V.*

23 clamaverunt] clamaverant MS.

est dimittere offensas, et non inquirere de occultis secretorum nec reducere ad memoriam donativa.

Kingly virtues enumerated.

Sicut de genere bonorum est, et de substancia virtutum remunerare emeritos[1], remittere injuriam, et honorandos honorare, venerari venerandos, subvenire simplicibus, suplere defectus | innocencium, salutantibus respondere, linguam 39 b. reprimere, injuriam ad tempus dissimulare, et stulticiam stulti fugere[2] et ignorare.

The marrow of philosophic wisdom.

Docui ergo te que semper solebam docere et in pectore tuo seminare: gero itaque fiduciam quod documentum illud erit in tuis viis et operibus tuis claritas semper lucens et sufficiens sciencia ad tua regimina toto tempore vite tue. Verumptamen dico tibi sapienciam philosophicam abreviatam. Et si nunquam dixissem (vel dedissem) aliud nisi sequens documentum tibi, deberet sufficere in omnibus operibus tuis in hoc seculo et futuro.

Capitulum .7. de intellectu et bona fama acquirenda, que est finis regni.

The praise of understanding.

SCias itaque quod intellectus est capud regiminis, salus anime, servator virtutum, speculator viciorum: in ipso siquidem speculamur fugienda, per ipsum eligimus eligenda: ipse est origo virtutum et radix omnium bonorum laudabilium et honorabilium.

The desire of a good name is the beginning of wisdom for a king.

Et primum instrumentum intellectus est desiderium bone fame, quia qui vere desiderat bonam famam famosus erit atque gloriosus, et qui ficte desiderat, per infamiam | con- 40 a. fundetur. Fama ergo est quod principaliter et per seipsum appetitur in regimine, quia regimen non appetitur propter se, set propter bonam famam. Inicium ergo sapiencie et intellectus est desiderium bone fame, que per regimen et dominium adquiritur. Si igitur alia de causa dominium et regimen adquirantur (vel desiderentur), non erit fame adquisicio set invidie.

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[1] emeriti sunt senes probate virtutis.

[2] al. fingere.

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3 Chapter viii. *V.* 17 Chapter ix. *V.*

Envy at the root of all evils,

Invidia itaque generat mendacium quod est radix reprobabilium et materia viciorum. Mendacium generat detraccionem : detraccio autem generat odium : odium autem generat injuriam : injuria generat pertinaciam : pertinacia generat iracundiam : iracundia generat repugnanciam : repugnancia generat inimiciciam : inimicicia generat bellum : bellum vero dissolvit legem et destruit civitates ; et hoc est contrarium nature. Et quod repugnat nature destruit totum opus reipublice et corpus.

and the decay of the common wealth.

The wish for good fame

Stude igitur et dilige desiderium bone fame, quoniam racio per desiderium bone fame elicit veritatem. Et veritas est radix laudabilium et materia omnium bonorum, quia est contraria mendacio, et desiderium justicie generat. Justicia generat confidenciam : confidencia largitatem : largi|tas facit familiaritatem : familiaritas amiciciam : amicicia generat consilium et juvamen. Per hoc siquidem orbis fuit constitutus et leges hominibus constitute, et hec racioni conveniunt et nature. Patet ergo quod desiderium regiminis propter bonam famam est bonum durabile et laudabile.

engenders all good things,

40 b.

and strengthens a kingdom.

Capitulum .8. de malis que secuntur ex carnali appetitu.

The evils that follow carnal desires

O Alexander declina[1] conatus bestialium voluptatum quia corruptibiles sunt. Carnales enim appetitus inclinant[2] animum ad corumptibiles voluntates anime bestialis, nulla discrecione prehabita, et inde corpus corruptibile letabitur, et contristabitur intellectus incorruptibilis. Sciendum igitur quod conatus voluptatis generat carnalem amorem : carnalis autem amor generat avariciam : avaricia generat desiderium diviciarum : desiderium diviciarum generat inverecundiam : inverecundia vero presumpcionem : presumpcio infidelitatem : infidelitas latrocinium : latrocinium

and their consequences

[1] id est, reprime in omne appetitus.
[2] id est, provocant.

20 Chapter x. *V.*

2 Mendacium] Invidia MS.

vituperacionem : ex qua nascitur captivitas[1] que ducit ad detrimentum legis et destruccionem familiaritatis et ad ruinam tocius operis : et hoc est contrarium nature.

bring men to shame and destruction.

Capitulum .9. *de regis sapiencia et religione, et intencione finali quam debet habere.* | g

PRimo et principaliter convenit regi quantum ad seipsum, ut fama sui nominis divulgetur in laudabili sapiencia, et quod cum suis hominibus raciocinetur sapienter, quia inde laudatur et honoratur, inde timetur ab hominibus, quando vident eum in sua sapiencia eloquentem esse, et in operibus prudenter agentem. Porro de levi potest sciri, et per cetera signa apprehendi, an in rege sapiencia vel insipiencia dominetur, quia quicunque rex supponit regnum suum divine legi dignus est regnare et honorifice dominari. Qui vero in servitutem redigit Dei legem, subiciens eam suo regno et imperio, transgressor est veritatis et contemptor divine legis. Qui vero contempnit divinam legem, ab hominibus qui sunt in lege contempnetur, quia condempnatus est in lege[2].

41 a.
The virtues of a king.
The tokens of wisdom in a king.
He honours the Divine law
or falls into contempt.

De Regis religione.

Dico iterum quod sapientes philosophi et divinitus loquentes dixerunt quod inprimis deceat regiam majestatem obtemperare se legalibus institutis, non in ficta apparencia set in firma et vera facti evidencia, ut cognoscant omnes ipsum Deum timere excelsum, et esse subjectum divine potencie. Tunc enim solent homines revereri et timere regem quando vident ipsum timere | et revereri Deum. Si itaque tantum in apparencia religiosum se ostendit, et in operibus sit (malidicus vel) malefactor ; cum difficile sit nepharia opera celari et apud populum ignorari, a Deo reprobabitur et ab hominibus contempnetur ; infamabitur ejus fama et ejus factum, diminuetur ejus imperium, diadema

Philosophers agree that a king should be religious.
His people will fear him.
41 b.
Hypocrisy cannot be hid.

[1] mentis, scilicet, et fame.
[2] scilicet, Dei.

4 Book II, Chapter xi. *V.* Discourse II. 20 Chapter xii. *V.*

glorie sue carebit honore. Quid igitur plura dicam? Non est precium, non est thesaurus qui possit sibi redimere bonam famam.

Capitulum .10. *de honoracione religiosorum et sapientum, et de providencia et pietate et mansuetudine et discrecione.*

A king should company with wise and religious men;

INsuper condecet regem legiferos honorare, religiosos venerari, sapientes sublimare; et conferre cum eis, dubitabiles movere questiones, honeste interrogare, discrete respondere, sapienciores et nobiliores magis honorare secundum quod decet statum uniuscujusque.

De regis providencia.

he should exercise foresight,

Oportet insuper regem futura cogitare et futuris casibus providenter occurere, ut possit adversa levius tollerare.

De regis pietate, mansuetudine et discrecione.

be slow to anger,

ready to acknowledge an error,

neither impetuous nor tardy;

Decet eciam regem pietatem habere, iram et motum animi retinere[1], ne improvisa commocio progrediatur in

42 a. actum sine | deliberacione. Et decet regem errorem suum racionabiliter recognoscere et sapienter revocare, quia summa sapiencia est in rege seipsum regere. Cum ergo rex vidit aliquod bonum vel utile faciendum, faciat cum discrecione, nec nimis tarde nec nimis cito, ne videatur impetuosus vel remissus.

Capitulum .11. *de ornamento regis et prerogativa et abstinencia a multiloquio et consorcio subditorum.*

he should wear the finest dress,

excelling all others;

be well-spoken, have a good voice.

MUltum convenit regie dignitati honorifice indui, et semper cum pulcro apparatu, et excellere alios in decore. Uti ergo debet caris pulcris et extraneis ornamentis. Decens est siquidem regem in quadam prerogativa alios omnes superare, ut per hec dignitas regis decoretur, potencia non ledatur, et debita reverencia tribuatur. Decet eciam regem esse facundum, affabilem, claram vocem habere, que multum prodest tempore preliorum ad exhortandum excercitum et excitandum.

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[1] id est, reprimere.

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11 Chapter xiii. *V.* 23 Chapter xiv. *V.*

De regis abstinencia a multiloquio.

O Alexander, quam speciosum est et honorificum in rege abstinere se a multiloquio, nisi necessitas hoc deposcat. Melius enim est quod aures hominum sint semper sitibunde ad regis eloquia quam suis affatibus sacientur, quia saturatis auribus anima saturatur, et tunc non multum libenter audiunt | regem saturantem [1]. 42 b.

A king should eschew much speaking or his subjects will lose their respect for him.

De abstinencia regis a consorcio subditorum.

Decet eciam regem abstinere et non multum frequentare consorcium subditorum, et maxime vilium personarum; quia nimia familiaritas hominum honoris parit contemptum.

He must avoid familiarity with his subjects.

Capitulum .12. de consuetudine optima regum Indie, scilicet de rara eorum apparicione coram multitudine, et quod tunc debeant facere magnifica. [2]

ET propter hoc pulcra est consuetudo Indorum in dispensacione regni et ordinacione regis: qui statuerunt quod rex semel in anno appareat coram hominibus in regali apparatu et armato excercitu, sedens nobilissime in suo dextrario, ornatu armorum pulcherrimo decoratus, et stare faciunt vulgus aliquantulum a remotis, nobiles vero et barones circa ipsum. Tunc solet ardua negocia expedire, varios et preteritos rerum eventus declarare, curam et operam quam circa rempublicam fideliter gessit ostendere. Consuevit illa die dona largiri, et minus reos de carceribus emancipare, et graviora honera relevare, et multa pia opera excercere.

The custom of Indian kings. The king shows himself once a year, gives gifts, and releases prisoners.

Finito sermone sedebit rex, et protinus assurget unus de collateralibus regis principalibus, qui sapiencior et facundior omnibus aliis reputatur, et conabitur ad regis honorem et commendacionem et man|datum, gracias referens glorioso Deo qui ita bene ordinavit regnum Indorum quod de tam sapiente rege patriam decoravit, quod laudabilem populum Indorum convenientem, obedientem, et unanimem confirmavit. Et post laudes divinas et commendaciones regales 43 a.

Then a great lord extols his rule and praises the manners of the land,

[1] id est, loquacem et garrulantem.

[2] Chapter xv. *V.*

and the people pray for him and tell of his wisdom; and thus his fame grows among them.

convertet se ad laudem populi, enumerando bonos mores, captando benevolenciam, inducens eos exemplis et racionibus ad humilitatem et obedienciam et reverenciam et dileccionem regis. Quo facto, totus populus studebit regias laudes extollere, et sua bona opera commendare, pro regis vita Deum exorare, per civitates et per familias regis opera et sapienciam enarrare. Et propter hoc docent parvos suos ab infancia et inducunt ad regis amorem et honorem, obedienciam, et timorem. Hoc igitur modo principaliter publicatur et accrescit fama regis in secreto et in aperto.

De justicia regis.

At this time he punishes malefactors, rewards merchants, and from this custom arises the wealth of India.

Consuevit enim tali tempore malefactores et sceleratos homines punire et de medio tollere, ut presumptoribus via nocendi precludatur et ceteri corrigantur. Solet enim tributa tali tempore alleviare, et cum mercatoribus dispensare, partem 43 b. eis de redditibus remittere, ipsos cum suis | mercibus diligenter defendere et custodire. Et hec est causa quare multum est populosa India: illuc enim concurrunt mercatores undique, ibi bene recipiuntur, et lucrantur optime divites et pauperes, cives et forenses. Inde est quod tributa regalia et redditus augmentantur.

Merchants should not be injured. Justice is the root of national prosperity.

Cavendum est itaque ab offensa et injuria mercatorum; ipsi siquidem sunt laudis latores, famam hominum ferentes per universum mundum. Unicuique ergo reddendum est quod suum est, quia et sic muniuntur civitates et multiplicantur redditus, et sic accrescunt regna regis et honor et gloria, sic contremescunt et compescuntur inimici, sic vivit rex pacifice et secure.

Capitulum .13. de appetitu et intencione regis finali, et castitate et coitu vitando.

Desire lasting benefits. Avoid animal pleasures.

O Alexander noli appetere quod est corruptibile et transitorium et quod oportet te scito reliquere: para divicias incorruptibiles, vitam immutabilem, vitam eternam, durabilitatem gloriosam. Dirige ergo cogitaciones tuas semper in bonum, redde te virilem et gloriosum, vita vias

22 Chapter xvi. *V.* 29 Chapter xvii. *V.*

bestiales,[1] et leonum[2] et immundicias[3] suis, noli esse | crudelis set flexibilis ad parcendum hiis de quibus victoriam habuisti. Cogita de futuris casibus, quia nescis quid futura dies paritura sit. Noli tua desideria imitari in comescione, potu, coitu, et diuturno sompno.

44 a.

Think of the future and be temperate.

De castitate Regis.

Clemens imperator, noli te inclinare ad coitum mulierum, quia coitus est quedam proprietas porcorum. Que gloria est tibi si excerceas vicium irracionabilium bestiarum et actus brutorum? Crede mihi indubitanter quod coitus est destruccio corporis et abreviacio vite et corrupcio virtutum, legis transgressio, femineos mores generat, et ultimo inducit illud malum quod prediximus.[4]

Eschew lechery.

The evils that follow from it.

Capitulum .14. *de regis solacio et modestia vultus et risus, et de instrumentis musicis audiendis, et discreccione ejus, et de cautela optima inquirendi secreta.*

DEcet imperatoriam magestatem privatos habere fideles cum quibus delectabitur, cum variis instrumentis et generibus organorum quando fuerit tediosus. Anima enim humana naturaliter in talibus delectabitur, sensus requiescunt, solicitudo et curiositas evanescunt, et totum corpus vigoratur. Si tu igitur in talibus volueris | delectari; ad plus persevera in tali vita tribus diebus vel quatuor, secundum quod tu videris expedire, et semper melius et honestius, et quod hoc fiat privatim.

Music is the solace of a king.

The effects of music.

44 b.

Periodical solace.

De cautela optima inquirendi secreta.

Cum itaque fueris in ipso solacio, abstine te a potu, et permitte eos ad libitum epotare, et finge te calefactum a vino, quia tunc poteris multa secreta percipere et audire. Set

How to know the minds of your familiars.

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[1] id est, mores hominum bestialium.

[2] id est, crudelium et superborum.

[3] id est, luxuriosi et gulosi qui porcis comparantur.

[4] *quod prediximus* supra, scilicet, in capitulo .8. in capitulo de carnali appetitu.

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6 Chapter xviii. *V.* 14 Chapter xix. *V.*

hoc non fiat frequenter, set bis vel ter in anno. Et debes habere circa te, de tua familia, speciales qui tibi referant ea que fiunt et dicuntur per regnum.

De modo honoracionis procerum.

Distribute your favours among your nobles.

Cum fueris inter barones tuos, honora sapientes et quos tu videris merito honorandos: tene quemlibet in suo statu: invita hodie unum et cras alium: secundum quod decet gradum uniuscujusque honora ipsum. Nullus sit de tuis nobilibus qui tuam non senciat largitatem, pateat omnibus clemencia majestatis et nobilitas animi liberalis.

De modestia vultus, et precipue de risu.

Abstain from immoderate mirth.

Decet itaque regem discrecionem et continenciam habere, et a risu multum abstinere, quia frequens risus tollit reverenciam et generat senectutem.

De loco honoracionis regis et procerum suorum.

A king is most honoured in his own court.

Insuper scire debes quod magis (tenentur homines regem, vel) rex tenetur homines | in sua honorare curia et suo consorcio quam alibi, quia tunc sua interest. 45 a.

Capitulum .15. de punicione injurianciu̇m et de conversacione regis ad subditos ut eum ament.

Offenders are to be punished with respect to their persons.

SI quis facit aliquam injuriam, puniendus est secundum qualitatem sue persone, ut terreantur alii et discant ab injuriis abstinere; et aliter puniendus est nobilis et excelsus, aliter popularis et abjectus. Bonum ergo est rigorem et continenciam observare, ut sit inter regem et subditos distinccio personarum. Nam scriptum est in libro Esculapii quod ille rex est laudabilis et amandus qui assimilatur aquile dominanti inter aves, et non ille qui assimilatur uni avium subjectarum. Si quis igitur in curia vel in presencia regie magestatis presumat injuriam perpetrare vel offensam inferre, considerandum est quo animo illud facit, aut ludendo ut tibi complaceat et animos ad gaudia provocet, an in contemptum et dedecus tue dignitatis. Si primo modo, leviter corrigatur; si vero secundo modo, morte moriatur.

Aesculapius likens a king to an eagle.

The treatment of contempt of

11 Chapter xx. *V*.

De obediencia subditorum erga regem per conversionem eorum ad ipsum.

O Alexander obedienciam dominacionis (vel dominatoris) quatuor modis attendimus, scilicet | in religiositate, dileccione, curialitate, et reverencia. O Alexander, converte ad te animas subditorum, tolle injurias et injusticias ab eis. Noli dare hominibus contra te materiam obloquendi, quia vulgus dicit mala de levi, et quando de jure potest dicere, de facto leviter potest facere. Contine te ergo ita ut nichil contra te possit dicere, et per hoc evitabis eorum facere. Insuper scias quod discrecio maturitatis est gloria dignitatis, et reverencia domini est exaltacio regis et regni. Summa igitur prudencia est et providencia laudabilis, ut tua reverencia cohabitet in cordibus subditorum magis quam dileccio.

The four grounds of obedience.

45 b.

Conquer the goodwill of you subjects.

Rather be feared than loved.

Capitulum .16. de comparacione regis ad pluviam et ventos et hyemem et estatem.

LEgitur quod rex est in regno sicut pluvia in terra, que est Dei gracia, celi benediccio, terre vita, vivencium juvamentum et munimentum, quia per pluviam paratur[1] iter mercatoribus, auxilium edificantibus et solacium. Attamen in pluviis sunt aeris tonitrua, et | fulmina cadunt, inundant flumina, torrentes intumescunt, furiunt maria, et multa alia mala eveniunt, per que multa vivencia pereunt. Verumptamen accidencia mala non impediunt quin laudent homines Deum gloriosum in sua magestate, considerantes signa sue gracie dona misericordie, quia per pluviam vivificant nascencia, vegetabilia pullulant, et cunctis virtutibus infunditur benediccio. Et ideo referunt homines laudes Deo, et obliviscuntur mala preterita que supervenerunt.

Kings are likened to the rain,

which does good and harm;

46 a.

still men thank God for it,

and forget any harm it causes

Et exemplum regis convenit exemplo ventorum quos

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[1] et precipue in terris calidis et tempore calido, ut valeant mutare loca per mitigacionem caloris in omni loco, vel intendit propter navigacionem tantum.

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1 Chapter xxi. *V.* 16 Chapter xxii. *V.*

Kings are likened to the wind. The bounties of the winds. The evils they cause. God orders the course of the winds out of His mercy.

Deus excelsus emittit et extendit de thesauro sue misericordie, et per ipsos educit nubem, et crescunt segetes, arborum fructus maturantur et resumunt vires cum aqua desiderata recipitur, via navigantibus aperitur, et multa alia bona secuntur. Ex ventis tamen impedimenta et diversa pericula inferuntur, tam in mari quam in terra, dolores extrinsecos ad interiora cordium inducunt, divicias hominum in procellis dissipant et dispergunt, per eos 46 b. corup|ciones aeris generantur, venena mortifera nutriuntur[1] et multa alia inconveniencia consecuntur. Et tamen implorant inferiores creature clemenciam Creatoris ut tollat ab eis ista mala. Ipse nichilominus ventos deducere sustinet cursum suum retinere et ordinem quem statuit eis, quia cuncta sua sapiencia equali pondere et certo numero et ordine destinavit et statuit servis suis ea ut serviant. Et hoc exivit ex immensa sua misericordia et inenarrabili bonitate.

Kings are likened to summer and winter whose inconveniences are often lasting benefits in disguise.

Hec siquidem parabola est in hyeme et estate quoniam frigora et calores summa providencia inevitabiliter et immutabiliter stabilivit ad generacionem propagacionem et durabilitatem rerum temporalium et naturalium. Cum tamen multa inconveniencia et pericula mortalia eveniunt ex frigore hyemis et calore estatis, sic et accidit in rege; multa siquidem solent ab ipso comoda provenire et que 47 a. suis subditis displicent, et moleste feruntur | cum tamen in eis maxima utilitas immineatur.

Capitulum .17. *de subvencione egenorum et regis providencia contra famem futuram.*

Help all those in evil case.

O Alexander, indaga de inopia et necessitate miserabilium personarum et debilium; subveni indigentibus

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Bacon instances the S. winds from Africa, &c.

[1] Sive mittuntur de regionibus venenatis per habundanciam animalium venenosorum, sicut sepe accidit quod ex Affrica per ventos deportati sunt pulveres animalium venenosorum jam mortuorum ad regiones citra mare, et similiter vapores venenosi multiplicati ab animalibus vivis venenosis, sicud Virgilius 3° *Georgicorum* et Servius ibidem, et Plinius et Historie scribunt multipliciter contigisse.

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26 Chapter xxiii. *V.*

in sua indigencia de tua clemencia; elige tibi homines scientes eorum linguam et eloquentes, justiciam amantes, qui vicem tuam suplere valeant, et eos misericorditer amare et regere. In hoc est regis observancia, hominum leticia beneplacitum Creatoris.

De regis providencia contra famem futuram.

O Alexander, thesauriza tibi multum de leguminibus et granis utilibus ad vescendum, ut terre tue sufficiant in tempore famis et indigencie, ut cum venerit, sicut solet accidere in annis famis et inopie, valeat tuis hominibus tua providencia subvenire, et in tempore necessitatis succurere civitatibus. Tunc debes aperire celaria tua et publicare per regnum et civitates frumenta et grana thesaurizata.

Lay up great store of grain and food against time of scarcity;

Hec est magna cautela, maxima providencia, munimen regni, salus populi, custodia civitatum. Tunc enim penetrabit tuum preceptum, tunc prosperabitur tuum factum et fama, et de tua pulcra providencia gaudebunt et vivent cum fiducia universi. Tunc scient omnes quod oculi tui pro|cul videant.[1] Propter hoc appreciabuntur tuam clemenciam, et timebunt tuam offendere magestatem.

in this shall your foresight be known and praised.

47 b.

Capitulum .18. *de regis misericordia, quod rex non sit facilis ad effusionem sanguinis.*

O Alexander frequenter monui te et adhuc moneo quod meam custodias doctrinam, quam si servaris, tuum propositum consequeris et regnum tuum durabile permanebit. Noli igitur sanguinem humani generis per te effundere, quoniam hoc soli Deo convenit, qui novit occulta cordium et secreta hominum. Noli tibi assumere divinum officium, quia non est tibi datum scire archanum divinum. Cave igitur quantum potes effundere sanguinem hominum, quia doctor egregius Hermogines scripsit, dicens: Quando creatura interficit creaturam sibi similem, ut homo hominem,

Do not shed blood;

God alone has his prerogative.

The saying of Hermogenes.

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[1] id est, sunt providi et prevident utilitates regni contra mala futura.

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6 Chapter xxiv. *V.* 21 Chapter xxv. *V.*

The Virtues of Heaven cry for vengeance on the manslayer,

virtutes celorum clamabunt ad divinam magestatem dicentes Domino: Domine, servus Tuus vult esse Tibi similis. Quia si injuste interficitur, respondet Creator excelsus: Perimite eum qui interficit quia ipse interficietur: Mihi vindictam et

48 a. Ego retribuam.[1] | Et tociens in suis laudibus virtutes celorum representabunt mortem interfecti donec vindicta sumatur ab interficiente, qui erit unus de perseveratoribus in penis eternis.

until vengeance is done on him.

Capitulum decimum novum de fidelitate servanda secundum exemplum antiquorum, et quod rex debet esse memor preteritorum.

Be guided by the deeds of your ancestors.

O Alexander de omnibus penis habes (vel habeas) noticiam: multa genera malorum experimento didicisti, reducas ad memoriam gesta parentum et annales parentum, et actus antiquorum patrum discute. Inde poteris multa bona exempla extrahere. Facta omnia preterita dabunt certa documenta in futuris. Minorem ne contempnas, quia minor et vilis poterit, sicut solet accidere, ad honores et divicias pervenire, et tunc erit valencior et potencior ad nocendum.

Do not despise the humble: they may become powerful.

Keep faith.

O clementissime Imperator, cave ne infringas datam fidem et federa confirmata, quoniam hoc convenit infidelibus, juvenibus, et meretricibus. Serva fideliter promissam fidem, quoniam omnem infidelitatem consequitur finis malus. Et si in federa fringendo aliquid boni eveniat, tamen quando ipsa species mala est, exemplum erit reprobum, et de genere malorum.

The benefits of faith-breaking are evil.

[1] Considerandum est quod Aristotiles et ceteri magni philosophi legerunt Vetus Testamentum et edocti sunt a prophetis et ceteris sapientibus Hebreis; et hoc dicit Aristotiles postea. Unde non est mirum quod hic accipit auctoritatem Ysaie et alibi in hoc libro, et in morali philosophia accepit documenta Salomonis et aliorum. Sic enim Plato usus est illo *Exodi*: 'Ego sum qui sum;' et Avicenna in .10. *Methaphisice* accepit auctoritates Scripture.

The source of this teaching in the Old Testament.

20 Chapter xxvi. *V*. 30 The reference is to Is. lix. 18, but the quotation is from Rom. xii. 19.

3 Perimite] Permitte MS.

Scias itaque quod per fidem fit hominum con|gregacio, civitatum inhabitacio, virorum communio, regis dominacio; per fidem castra tenentur, civitates servantur, reges dominantur. Si quidem tollas fidem, cuncti homines ad statum pristinum revertentur, videlicet ad instar brutorum et similitudinem bestiarum.

48 b.
Human society exists by faith-keeping,
and dissolves in its absence.

Cave tibi, rex fidelissime, infringere datam fidem et serva firmiter juramenta tua et federa etsi sint gravia. Nescis quod, teste Hermogine, duo sunt spiritus qui te custodiunt, quorum unus est ad dextram et alius ad sinistram custodientes et scientes opera tua cuncta, et rescribentes Creatori quicquid discreveris faciendum? In veritate solum hoc deberet te et quemlibet retrahere ab omni opere inhonesto.

The sayings of Hermogenes.
Two guardian spirits of every man.

Quis te compulit tam frequenter jurare? Non est hoc faciendum sine magna necessitate. Rex vero nisi multus rogatus et frequenter requisitus non debet jurare; nescis quod non convenit regie dignitati et derogat honori quando juras? Subditorum enim est et servorum jurare. Si quidem queras que fuit causa destruccionis regni Ambasoyorum et Scitarum, responderem tibi, quia reges eorum utebantur juramentis ad fraudem et decepcionem hominum | et proximarum civitatum, frangentes federa stabilita ad salutem humani generis et utilitatem. Iniqui illi et infideles abutebantur juramentis ad subversionem proximorum et ideo equitas justissima Summi Judicis non potuit eos amplius sustinere.

Swear not, but in utmost need.
Kingdoms ruined by cause of oath-breaking,
49 a.
which God punished.

O doctissime Alexander, scire te volo quod in ordinacione imperii et regiminis sunt quedam documenta specialissima valde moralia pertinencia tibi quantum ad propriam familiam et quantum ad communem populum regendum, set non habent locum hic. Set tamen tradam tibi ea in certo loco libri hujus et erunt tibi documenta salutaria abreviata et valde utilia, in quorum observancia prosperabis, Domino concedente.

There are special rules for the governance of a king's household,
which shall be set down later.

28 Chapter xxvii. *V.*

Capitulum vicesimum quod non est dolendum de adversis preteritis quia mutari non possunt, et de studiis sapiencie ordinandis et de scolis et studiis preparandis.

Don't grieve over things past.

NOli penitere pro re preterita, quoniam hoc est proprium debilium et mulierum. Manifesta probitatem, custodias curialitatem, serva bonitatem et excerce ; in hoc est proteccio

The advancement of learning.

regni, destruccio inimici. O imperator egregie, prepara gignasia [1] (vel gymnasia), tua statue studia in civitatibus tui

49 b. regni, permitte [2] et precipe [3] tuis hominibus | ut suos doceant

Children are to be be forced to study.

filios sciencias literarum, et faciant eos studere in liberalibus et nobilibus scienciis. Et tua debet esse providencia de necessariis subvenire. Et fac aliquam prerogativam bene

Students are to be rewarded,

studentibus et proficientibus, ut per hoc prestes aliis scolaribus exemplum et materiam vigilandi. Exaudi peticiones eorum, epistolas recipe et attende, collauda laudandos et

and they will spread your fame.

remunera remunerandos. In hoc excitabis literatos ad tua preconia extollenda, et gesta tua in scripturis perpetuanda ; iste modus est commendabilis et ista prudencia collaudanda. In hoc honoratur imperium, decoratur totum regnum, illuminatur curia imperatoris, annales et gesta regalia ejus

What has made Greece so famous?

memorie melius commendantur. Quis sublimavit regnum Grecorum ? quis eorum gesta per totum mundum perpetu-

It was the diligence of her students ;

aliter defamavit ? hoc certe fecit diligencia studencium et probitas sapientum qui supra modum sciencias dilixerunt,

even girls were learned,

et propter hoc talia meruerunt. Sane puella in domo patris-

50 a. familias ex nimio studio sciebat cursum | anni et astrorum,

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[1] id est, loca ubi fiunt excercicia, et hic accipitur pro excercicio studencium et hoc statim exponit.

[2] vel, promitte.

An unlearned king is a crowned ass.

[3] Nota hic mirabilem sapienciam quam reges antiqui adimpleverunt quia fuerunt instructi in philosophia, set nunc ut Henricus

49 b. filius | Willelmi regis qui dicebatur 'bastardus' solebat dicere patri et fratribus, 'Rex illiteratus est asinus coronatus.'

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7 Chapter xxviii. *V.*

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26 *At foot of* f. 49 b 'quod clerici ignorantes astronomiam sunt vituperandi nisi addiscant'.

festa futura, solempnitates mensium, cursum planetarum, causas abreviacionis diei et noctis et revolucionis planetarum Plyades et Boetes, brevitates circulorum dierum, signa stellarum indicancia futurorum, et alia infinita que pertinent ad judicium futurorum et artem superiorum. Quam vile igitur est quod famosi et senes in studio ignorant hec que puelle solebant scire.

and knew the course of astronomy.

How shameful it is for great men to be ignorant.

Capitulum .21. *de cavendis mulieribus et venenis et ab omni immundicia.*

O Alexander, nunquam confidas in operibus et serviciis mulierum ne committas te illis. Et si necessitas exigit, illi te committas que fidelis et dilecta creditur esse tibi, quia dum mulier tractat tuam personam, scias te esse quasi quoddam dispositum et commissum apud eam, quia in suis manibus est vita tua.

Never put confidence in women, nor put your life in their hands lightly.

De cavendis venenis.

Cave, cave mortifera venena, non enim incipiunt homines de novo venenare: notum est quoniam[1] multitudo regum vel dominorum aliorum anticipaverunt diem mortis, et occubuerunt[2] pocionibus venenorum.

Beware of poison: many kings have died of it.

O Alexander, in uno medico non confidas: quoniam unus medicus potens est | ad nocendum et de facili audet nephas presumere et scelus deducere[3] ad effectum. Si itaque potest fieri quod sint decem non sint minus, set fac eos omnes convenire in unum. Et si sumenda fuerit cum medicina, noli sumerenisi de consilio plurimorum. Et res medicinales debeant adquiri, debes habere fidelem[4] virum cognoscentem genera specierum et qualitates, qui debet omnia que sunt necessaria in composicione colligere

Trust not in one sole leech

50 b.

but have a number,

and let them act in consultation.

The choice of an apothecary.

[1] vel, quanta.
[2] aliter, et hoc attribuerunt.
[3] scilicet, dare venenosa.
[4] Qualis debet esse herbarius vel apothecarius.

10 Chapter xxix. *V.* 21 Chapter xxx. *V.*

5–7 'Quam . . . scire', evidently a note by Bacon.

de consilio medicorum cum certo pondere et mensura, et potum conficere sicut decet.

Remember the Queen of India's poison-maiden.

O Alexander recole factum regine Indorum, quando tibi mandavit causa amicicie multa xennia[1] et dona venusta, inter que missa fuit illa venustissima puella que ab infancia imbuta et nutrita fuit veneno serpentum, ita quod de sua natura conversa fuit in naturam serpentum. Et nisi ego illa hora diligenter inspexissem in ipsam, et arte judicassem de puella, eo quod ita audacter et horribiliter et incessabiliter et inverecunde suum figebat visum in facie hominum, perpendi siquidem quod interficeret homines solo morsu vel visu, quod tu experimento post probavisti. Et nisi hoc certissime | tibi ostendissem, mors tua fuisset in ardore coitus illius consecuta.

If I had not chanced to observe her, you would have been poisoned.

51 a.

De mundicia anime.

Preserve the purity of thy soul.

O Alexander, serva tuam nobilissimam animam superiorem et angelicam, quia comendata est tibi non ut dehonestetur set ut glorietur. Non sis[2] de condicione et genere immundorum[3] set de numero sapientum.

h

Capitulum .22. de regimine vite per astronomiam.

Do nothing but by counsel of Astronomy.

O Rex clementissime, si fieri potest, non surgas nec sedeas nec comedas nec bibas et nichil penitus facias sine consilio viri periti in arte astrorum. Scias itaque[4] pro certo quod nichil fecit gloriosus Deus vacuum nec ociosum in naturis, set omnia sunt facta probabili ex causa et certissima racione. Et per istam viam et inquisicionem cognovit peritissimus doctor noster Plato naturam parcium compositarum rerum ex contrariis qualitatibus et coloribus

God has made nothing in vain.

Plato knew the composition of all things.

The proper form of the word xennium.

[1] xennium est nomen Grecum quod in omnibus veracibus libris habetur, tam in textu sacro quam in philosophia et jure, unde quod preponitur e in prima sillaba dicendo exennia, nichil est et fictum a glomerellis quia ignorant Grecum.

[2] vel, sit.

[3] spirituum, scilicet.

[4] vel, utique.

16 Chapter xxxi. *V.*

in sua generacione per comparacionem [1] ad res compositas, et per hoc habuit scienciam de sideribus [2] comatis [3].

Ne adhibeas fidem dictis insipiencium qui dicunt scienciam planetarum difficilem esse quod nemo poterit ad illam pervenire; isti nesciunt quid dicunt, quia apud potenciam intellectus nichil est difficile et cuncta sunt scibilia in via racionis. Sunt et alii non minus | stulti qui dicunt Deum cuncta previdisse et preordinasse ab eterno: unde dicunt non prodest futura precognoscere ex quo debent necessario evenire; quid igitur valet sciencia stellarum? illi similiter male errant.

Do not believe those who say Astrology is too difficult to learn,

51 b.

or others who say it is useless to know the future: we cannot alter it.

Dico ergo quod licet quedam sint necessario ventura, tamen si presciantur levius tollerantur, prudencius declinantur, et sic quodammodo evitantur, quia eo ipso quod futura sint in mea noticia et previsa, quando accidunt recipiuntur provide et discrete, transeunt sine molestia et sine maxima lesione. Verbi gracia, quando hyemps speratur nimis frigida, homines preparant hospicia calida, provident tegumenta, carbones et ligna adquirunt, et de aliis multis se premuniunt, et propter hoc, veniente hyeme et frigore, non leduntur. Hoc eciam faciunt in estivo calore, quia per frigida cibaria et species rerum evadunt fervorem estatis.

Some things are indeed inevitable, but others can be guarded against.

When we know winter is coming, we prepare for it:

Similiter quando prescire possunt annos famis et indigencie, per conservacionem frumentorum et rerum aliarum providenciam minus moleste ac levius sustinent tempus famis et indigencie. Confert ergo multum | futura prescire, quia melius declinare mala possunt homines quando ventura precognoscunt; nam et Destinatorem excelsum tunc precibus implorare debent quod per suam clemenciam ab eis futura mala avertat et aliter ordinet. Non enim ita predestinavit quod in aliquo sue potencie derogaret. Possunt siquidem homines divinam clemenciam deprecari oracionibus, devocionibus, precibus, jejuniis, serviciis, sacrificiis, elemosinis,

when we expect a famine, we lay up store of food;

52 a.

so, if the stars tell of evil to come, we may pray for God's pity.

[1] aliter, in comparacione.
[2] de ydeis et rebus.
[3] vel, formatis.

et multis aliis bonis, de commissis veniam implorantes, de reatibus penitentes, et tunc verissime[1] est quod Deus omnipotens avertet ab eis quod trepidant et formidant. Redeamus ergo ad inceptum sermonem.

The three divisions of Astronomy: (1) The ordinance of the heavens and stars. The Science of Astronomy. (2) The knowledge of the rising and setting of signs. The Science of Judgements. (3) The Science of the Spheres.

Sciendum ergo quod astronomia dividitur in tres partes, videlicet, in ordinacionem celorum et sperarum, et in disposicionem planetarum et divisionem signorum et eorum elongacionem et de suis motibus, et ista pars Astronomie vocatur Sciencia. Secunda pars est de qualitate et modo cognoscendi motum firmamenti, ortum signorum super rebus empericis[2] antequam fiant sub firmamento Lune,[3] et hec secunda pars dicitur Astronomia sive Sciencia Judiciorum. Et dignior pars astronomie est sciencia de tribus rebus, scilicet, 52 b. | de speris, planetis, et signis. Scias[4] igitur quod fixi planete sunt .1022. de quibus meam tibi in quadam parte libri hujus ad plenum tradam doctrinam.[5]

The number of fixed stars.

Explicit pars prima hujus libri de regum varietate et moribus et regimine.

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[1] vel, verisimile.

[2] aliter, entibus.

[3] i.e. sub Luna que est in firmamento.

[4] Sciendum quod hec pars Astronomie non est adhuc translata, et loquitur de illis stellis tantum, quantum quantitas potest sciri per instrumenta astronomie, quia alie sunt innumerabiles.

The sciences were discovered by the Jews.

[5] Sciendum ergo quod infideles philosophi non invenerunt hanc scienciam nec alias partes Mathematice, ut Geometriam et Arithmeticam, nec alias sciencias, set Deus dedit eas suis sanctis et justis Hebreis, a quibus omnes philosophi infideles habuerunt omnium scienciarum principia, ut dicit capitulo primo secunde partis hujus libri. Nam Josephus dicit, primo libro *Antiquitatum*, quod Deus filiis Ade in secunda generacione per Seth dedit eis vivere per sexcentos annos propter gloriosas sciencias in quibus studuerunt, videlicet, Geometriam et Astronomiam. Et Noee et filii ejus et Habraam docuerunt illas sciencias post diluvium. Nam Noee et progenitus ejus Sem docuerunt Astronomiam primo in Babilonia, scilicet, in terra illa post diluvium, ut docet Albumazar .6. libro *Introductorio in Astronomiam*, et cum eis maxime primogenitus Sem, sicut dicitur in prologo *Composicionis Astrolabii* Ptolomei.

Seth. Noah. Babel.

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3 End of Discourse II.

Et Habraam, testante Josepho, descendit in Egiptum et docuit Egiptios Arithmeticam et Astronomiam, et Moyses fuit peritus in omni sciencia sive sapiencia Egiptiorum, ut dicitur septimo capitulo *Actuum*, et Salomon de omnibus philosofatus est, et nullam naturam indisciplinatam reliquit, sicut dicit Josephus octavo *Antiquitatum* libro. Et Moyses docuit verum motum Lune et Solis, et conjuncciones et opposiciones propter sacrificia legis, et multa alia nobilia. Propter igitur ista, non est mirum si philosophi qui omnes habuerunt sciencias ab Hebreis, ut patet ex dictis et evidencius in sequenti parte libri hujus, statim in principio potuerunt loqui certitudinaliter de certitudine scienciarum quam docuerunt sapientissimi Hebrei, qui a Deo receperunt omnes sciencias, et dedit eis multos centenarios annorum vivere ut experirentur eas.

Abraham took them to Egypt.

Solomon.

Moses.

i

Incipit pars secunda hujus libri de regimine sanitatis cujus capitulum primum est de ortu tocius sapiencie.

Keeping of health is more precious than medicine.

NUnc vero prius tibi tradere volo doctrinam medicinalem et quedam secreta que tibi sufficiunt in conservacione sanitatis, ut non indigeas aliquo
53 a. medico, quia conservacio sanitatis et salutis melior est | et preciosior omni medicina, et valde tibi sunt necessaria ad regimen hujus mundi.

Health comes from equality of complexions or attemperance of the humours.

God revealed the method of obtaining this

to the saints,

from whom ancient philosophers learnt it,

the Greeks above all.

Sciendum est itaque quod non est via ad aliquam rem faciendam vel aliquam causam adquirendam nisi per potenciam clari intellectus, et non est potencia nisi per sanitatem, et non est sanitas nisi per equalitatem complexionum, et non est equalitas complexionis nisi per temperanciam humorum. Et Deus excelsus et gloriosus ordinavit modum et remedium ad temperanciam humorum et conservanciam sanitatis et ad plurima alia adquirenda, et revelavit ea sanctis prophetis servis suis et justis prophetis suis, et quibusdam aliis quos preelegit et illustravit spiritu divine sapiencie, et dotavit eos dotibus sciencie. Ab istis sequentes viri philosophi philosophie principatum et originem habuerunt: Indi et Perses et Greci et Latini ab istis hauserunt, et scripserunt artium et scienciarum principia et secreta, quia in scripturis eorum[1] nichil falsum, nichil reprobum invenitur, set a sapientibus approbatum. Qui enim sibi ipsi causa perdicionis est, multo forcius aliis causam perdicionis prestabit, quia illud eligimus quod amamus, et illud querimus quod intendimus. Scire tamen debes quod Deus excelsus inter ceteros philosophos Grecos magis inflammavit ad sciencias inquirendas et rerum |
53 b. naturalium genera cognoscenda. De hoc tibi alias fecimus

[1] vel, ipsorum.

4 Chapter xxxii. F.

fidem, unde secundum ipsos proposuimus in hoc libro, Domino concedente, procedere et determinare.

They will be followed in this book.

Capitulum .2. de equalitate servanda in omnibus, scilicet, in cibo et potu et aliis que enumerat.

COnvenerunt itaque sapientes philosophi naturales quod homo est compositus ex oppositis elementis et ex contrariis quatuor humoribus, qui semper indiget alimentis et pocionibus: quibus si caret, corrumpetur ejus substancia. et si hiis uteretur superflue vel diminute, incurreret infirmitatem, debilitatem, et alia inconveniencia multa. Si vero utatur temperate, inveniet juvamen vite, corporis fortitudinem, et tocius sue substancie salutem. Convenerunt igitur unanimiter quod qui transgreditur debitum modum, in pleno [1] et vacuo [2], et in sompno et vigilia, in motu et quiete, in dissolucione vel retencione ventris, in subtraccione vel detencion esanguinis, non poterit evadere (egritudines seu) egritudinum furores et molestias infirmitatum, de quibus omnibus tractaturus sum, sub congrua brevitate tradendo doctrinam certissimam de generibus egritudinum | et de remediis eorundem. 54 a.

Man is composed of four humours and opposite elements.

His nourishment should be temperate.

Who overpasses the mean shall fall into sickness,

for which the remedies will be taught.

Convenerunt itaque universi quod qui cavet sibi a superfluitate et indigencia conservando equalitatem ct temperanciam, iste participat [3] sanitatem salutiferam et longitudinem dierum. Ego siquidem non inveni aliquem philosophorum ab hac sentencia discrepantem (vel discrepare), videlicet, quod omnia delectabilia hujus mundi, sive sint delicie sive divicie sive honores sive voluptates, universa sunt propter durabilitatem. Qui igitur appetit vivere ac

Who keeps the mean shall have good health and long life.

Durability is the essence of pleasure.

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[1] id est, nimia replecione cibi et potus.

[2] id est, in deffectu cibi et potus.

[3] vel, percipiet.

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3 Chapter xxxiii. *V.*

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1 *At top of* p. 53 b:

Accidencia anime motus inanicio vigilia

'Accidit, esca, quies, aer, replecio, sompnus, .6. res non naturales quibus inpossibile est hominem non approximare.'

The six 'non-naturals'.

3 *In marg.* 'C^m .2. quomodo sanitas conservatur.'

durare, studiat adquirere que durabilitati[1] conveniunt et vitam conservant, et renunciet desideriis proprie voluntatis, nec comestionem comestionibus superaddat.

Hippocrates told his disciples: Audivi de Ypocrate quod conservabat dietas sibi, pro quibus debilitatem in corpore sustinebat. Cui dixit suus discipulus: Doctor egregie, si velles bene comedere, non sustineres tantam corporis debilitatem. Respondit Ypocras I eat to live, not live to eat. et dixit: Fili, ego volo comedere ut vivam, non vivere ut comedam. Alimentum enim propter durabilitatem querendum est, non durabilitas propter alimentum. | 54 b. Multos sane Men who become abstinent are in better health: novi qui dum vixerunt diminuerunt de alimento et comestione, abstinentes se a suis appetitibus, parcentes gule et viventes temperate per dietas, qui fuerunt propter hoc sanissimi corporis, melioris operacionis, longioris vite, et boni appetitus et levioris motus: et hoc est manifestum in witness the Arabs. Arabibus et sepe euntibus per deserta et itinera longa. Hoc est manifestum argumentum quod abstinere a nimia comestione et superfluitatem purgare est summa medicina.

Capitulum .3m. de conservacione sanitatis secundum complexionis qualitatem et temporis, sive de cibacione et potacione secundum complexionem cujuslibet et secundum tempora.

Two things preserve health O Alexander, in medicina continetur certissimum et verissimum documentum, quia conservacio sanitatis (1) food fitting his age and habits; in duobus principaliter consistit. Primum est quod homo utatur cibis convenientibus sue etati et tempori in quo est et consuetudini sue nature, videlicet, ut utatur cibis et potibus quibus consuevit nutriri, et quibus suam sub- (2) purging superfluous and corrupt humours. stanciam confirmavit. Secundum est quod purget se ab eo quod generatur ex superfluitate et corruptis humoribus. Sciendum est igitur quod corpora hominum que sunt

19 Chapter xxxiv. *V.*

[1] 'propter illud quere librum fratris Rogeri Bacun de retardacione accidencia senectutis et prolongacione vite', *in marg. later hand.*

receptibilia cibi et potus diminu|untur et resolvuntur, tam ipsa corpora recipiencia quam ipsa alimenta recepta, ita quod resolvuntur in primis per calorem naturalem qui desiccat humiditatem corporum et nutritur ac pascitur eadem humiditate: resolvuntur eciam per calorem solis et venti qui desiccant humiditatem omnium corporum et pascuntur ex humiditate tam corporum quam fluminum. Quando igitur est corpus calidum vaporabile, valent grossa cibaria, quoniam illud quod resolvitur et emittitur de tali corpore erit nutrimentum multe quantitatis et grosse substancie, propter nimium calorem et vaporem corporis. Quando vero corpus est densum et siccum, valent subtilia et humida cibaria, quoniam quod dissolvitur de tali corpore est parve quantitatis propter suos strictos meatus. Certum itaque est documentum ad conservandam sanitatem ut homo utatur cibis convenientibus sue complexioni in sua sanitate; verbi gracia: Si quis est calide nature, conveniunt sibi calida cibaria temperata; si vero est frigide nature, conveniunt frigida temperata; idem penitus dico in[1] humido et sicco corpore. Si igitur calor augmentatur et inflammatur nimia inflam|macione, aut propter calida cibaria aut propter calorem extraneum vincentem et dominantem, tunc opposita et contraria juvant, scilicet frigida.

55 a.

The body is continually losing substance: (1) by its natural heat; (2) by the sun and wind.

If the body is hot and moist gross meat is required; if dense and dry, light and moist food is better.

A man must take food suitable to his complexion: if hot, warm temperate food, if frigid, cold temperate food;

55 b.

Declinancia ultra temperanciam.

Et cum stomacus calidus fuerit fortis et bonus, tali stomaco meliora sunt grossa cibaria et forcia, quia talis stomacus est quasi validus ignis potens comburere multa grossa ligna. Quando vero stomacus est frigidus et debilis, tali meliora sunt subtilia et leviora, quia talis stomachus comparatur igni comburenti cannas et subtilia ligna.

to a strong stomach, strong meats; to a weak stomach, delicate meats.

De signis boni stomachi.

Signa itaque boni stomachi sunt hec: levitas corporis,

The signs of

[1] vel, de.

32 Chapter xxxv. *V.*

18 est] est est MS.

a good and of an evil stomach.

claritas intellectus, bonus appetitus. Signa vero mali stomachi et debilis digestionis sunt hec: gravitas corporis, mollicies, pigricies, inflammacio faciei, oris frequens apercio[1], gravitas oculorum, turpis et mala eructuacio (quando, scilicet, eructat acre vel acerbum vel amarum vel aquosum insipidum aut fetidum), et propter hoc generantur ventositates et inflammaciones ventris, et diminuitur appetitus. Si vero res

The ills that come from an evil stomach.

56 a. est in majori quantitate, proveniunt ex hoc extensiones | extremitatum, excreaciones, reflexiones membrorum, tremores corporis, aperciones oris, et quedam alia mala que omnino sunt contraria sanitati, destructiva corporis, corruptiva nature. Debes igitur teipsum, clementissime, diligenter conservare ab inconvenientibus supradictis.

k

Capitulum .4. de hiis que pertinent ad regimen sanitatis post sompnum nocturnum ante horam preparacionis ad cibum sumendum.

The secrets of medicine are here set down,

CUm hoc corpus corruptibile sit, eique accidit corrupcio ex opposicione complexionum et humorum qui sunt in eo, visum est mihi in presenti opere tibi scribere quedam utilia et omnino necessaria ex secretis artis medicine, quibus contentus fueris[2], et maxime cum sit honestum ut non appareant medico cuncte infirmitates regis. Si autem diligenter hoc exemplar inspexeris et juxta hunc modum et ordinem preciosum vixeris et conversatus fueris, medico non indigebis exceptis accidentibus plagis et accionibus, bellicis percussionibus, et ceteris hujusmodi que omnino vitari non possunt.

for no physician should know all the illnesses of a king.

By the use of this book you can cure yourself in all ordinary cases.

What to do when one rises: walk about, stretch, and comb the hair;

Igitur, O Alexander, cum a sompno surrexeris modicum debes ambulare et membra tua equaliter extendere, et tuum | caput pectere, quia ambulacio temperata et mem-

56 b. brorum extensio corroborant corpus et virtutem spiritualem et naturalem confortant et vapores digestionis expellunt, et

[1] scilicet, ocitacio. [2] vel, sis.

14 Chapter xxxvi. *V*. The tract of Johannes Hispalensis begins here. For his preface see introduction. 28 Chapter xxxvii. *V*.

capitis pectinacio extrahit vapores ad capud ascendentes tempore dormicionis a stomacho, et educit. In estate lavare [wash hands and face, mouth, teeth, and head] cum aqua frigida manus et faciem, os, dentes, et capud ; in hyeme autem calida, quia hoc constringit et retinet calorem corporis et capitis evaporantem. Hoc erit quasi excitacio [to get an appetite;] desiderii comedendi. Deinde induere vestimenta optima et [put on rich dress;] ornata pulcherrimo apparatu[1] et aspectu, quia animus tuus naturaliter multum delectabitur[2] in hujusmodi pulcritudine et aspectu, et virtus splendide vestis in te confirmabitur et dilatabitur nimis[3]. Deinde confricabis et desiccabis dentes [rub your teeth and gums with aromatic herbs;] et gingivas cum corticibus[4] aromaticibus arboris calide et sicce et acuti vel amari saporis: hoc quidem multum juvat et valde prodest. Dentes enim mundificat et oris vicium liquefacit et desiccat flegma, desserit linguam,[5] clarificat loquelam, insuper excitat desiderium comedendi. Deinde [then take a pinch of snuff,] subfumigabis[6] te subfumigacionibus con|gruis temporibus: [57 a.] hoc enim fumigium valde proficit, quia aperit clausuras cerebri, et grossiora reddit colla, et brachia pinguescere facit, et clarificat faciem atque visum, corroborat sensum[7], vetat et tardare facit caniciem, et animam ipsam letificat, et ad Deum ex odoris suavitate comendat.

Post hoc utere unguentis optimis et odoriferis, tempori- [anoint yourself with suitable unguents;] bus[8] tamen congruentibus in quibus fueris, quia non nisi odoratu bono et dulci reficitur anima, et omnis odor suavis est ejus cibus. Et cum refecta et confortata fuerit anima et firmata que delicata est, corpus confirmabitur[9] et confortabitur et gaudebit cor, et sanguis undique in venas incipit currere ex leticia anime que delectata est.

Post hoc accipias alaccod[10], id est, ex electuario ligni [then take some electuary of aloes]

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[1] vel, ornamento. [2] et confortabitur. [3] id est, multum.

[4] ut cinamomi et hujusmodi vel olivarum persicarie vel salvie vel genciane vel de sale vel amararum specierum. [such as cinnamon, sage, &c.;]

[5] id est, facit disertam linguam.

[6] scilicet, nares tuas speciebus calidis vel frigidis, siccis vel humidis tempori congruentibus.

[7] id est, 5 sensus omnes.

[8] scilicet, frigidis in calido tempore et calidis in frigido.

[9] vel, corroborabitur. [10] nomen arabicum.

aloes,[1] quod invenitur in libris medicinalibus, et tunc ex raoud [2], id est, ex reubarbaro pensum quatuor nummorum argenteorum, quoniam hoc[3] valde proficit.[4] Et subtrahit flegma ab ore stomachi, et excitat calorem naturalem corporis, fugat ventositatem, et bonum oris reddit saporem et odorem.

and of rhubarb;

57 b. Deinde cum nobilibus sede, et cum sapientibus | loquere secundum consuetudinem regum et nobilium, et age quod te decet agere.

then sit and talk with your nobles a while.

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[1] vel, ex electo ligno aloes. [2] nomen arabicum. [3] vel, hic.

[4] *Quia hic valde proficit*, scilicet, lignum aloes et reubarbarum quando bene eliguntur, quoniam, ut postea dicit, reubarbarum est vita epatis. Nichil plus valet corpori humano, quia hoc solum medicatum non est venenosum, et si receptum non laxat aut quia corpus recipientis non indiget purgacione, aut ineptum est purgacioni sive ex complexione, sive ex composicione, sive ex constellacione. Non tamen nocet set multum proficit omni die recipere vel sepe, propter causas quas Aristotiles recitat hic, et quia est vita epatis ut dicit inferius, capitulo de vino. Miro enim modo purgat flegma et principaliter, sicut hic notat Aristotiles, licet medici multi moderni estiment quod principaliter purget coleram. Set decepti sunt, quia leviter purgatur colera et per omne purgativum propter levitatem sui, secundum quod Johannes Damascenus dicit in *Afforismis* suis, .8º. afforismo, omne catarticum purganto aliquem humorem simul educit coleram. 'Catarticum' Grece est 'purgativum' Latine. Set tamen auctores et periti medici acuunt hanc medicinam vel preparacionem ejus per aliquid quod respicit coleram, et ideo per hoc purgat coleram plurimum, licet ex natura reubarbari secundum se principaliter purgat flegma, quod cognovi per experienciam sapientum nostri temporis. Si quis vero vult per modum medicine laxative recipere hoc medicamen, primo per .7. dies accipiat oximel, quod quinto libro *Viatici* scribitur valere ad frigiditatem epatis, et stomachi ac diuturnas febres et ad multa alia. Et tunc in serum purgatum per albumina ovorum .5. vel .6. sicut satis noverunt medici periti, serum dico precipue caprium vel ovium vel vaccarum. Infundatur pulvis reubarbari postquam serum colatum est et infrigidatum, deinde stet ad aerem, et post mediam noctem sumatur. Et recipiens dormiat postea ad plus duabus horis, ut cicius exeat de stomaco. Si multum dormiret evaporaret per corpora, et si debilitetur homo propter jejunium quia tarde solvit, potest comedere et assellabit post. Debet poni in sero tepido quia si poneretur in sero calido, non faceret nisi mingere. Et potest accipi quantitas dimidie uncie una vice, i. e. virtus uncie $\frac{1}{2}$.

The virtues of this medicine. — *Its chief use is to purge phlegm not colera.* — *Damascenus.* — *The way of taking it as a laxative.* — *A short sleep after.* — *The quantity.*

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2 raoud] caoud MS.

Capitulum .5. de motu antequam sumatur cibus, et de cibo et potu, et de modo cibandi et potandi, et consuetudinem servandi.

CUm voluntas comedendi tibi affuerit juxta horam consuetudinis: utere labore corporis[1] modico, scilicet equitando vel deambulando | vel tale aliquid simile faciendo, quia hoc multum bonum est, et mire juvat corpus: fugat et frangit ventositates, corpus aptat, corroborat atque alleviat, et calorem stomachi incendit, constringit compages et liquefacit superfluos humores corporis residuos, et flegma facit descendere super stomacum nimis incensum,[2] id est, calidum et nimis desiccatum. Take a little exercise before your meal-time. 58 a.

Ponantur postea multi cibi ante te et comedas ex illis quos eligeris juxta desiderium tuum cum pane equaliter levato qui erit perfecte fermentatus, qui sit bene et noviter coctus et a furfure bene mundatus, mediocriter cum sale conditus, et prepone ex illis quos preponere debes. Verbi gratia, si sumpserit homo in uno prandio pulmentum molle molliens ventrem, et aliud retinens[3] secutum fuerit: si molle precesserit, melius et levius facit digestionem. Si vero retinens ante comederit et postea molle, confundetur male et consumetur utrumque. Similiter si sumpserit homo in una comestione plura pulmenta mollia,[4] que digeri cito possunt, oportet ut aliquid aliud pulmentum precedat retinens in fundo stomachi, quia profunditas stomachi Take some bread with your meals. Arrange the order of your dishes according to their digestibility.

[1] scilicet, corpus movendo.
[2] scilicet, in hiis qui habent stomachum calidum.
[3] ventrem, ut scilicet, grossum et durum et siccum.
[4] post que non sumit aliquid durum.

1 Chapter xxxviii. *V.*

9 incendit] intendit MS.

In a footnote: ‘Fulgentius in quodam sermone: quidam sapiens interrogatus ad quid exercicium laboris esset necessarium et utile, respondit in hec verba, Honestus, inquit, labor humane vite fida custodia, dormientis nature stimulus, sopiti caloris lima, superfluitatis consumpcio, viciorum fuga, morborum mors, langorum medicina, lucrum temporis, juventutis debitum, adolescencie disciplina, senectutis gaudium, salutis adjutorium, nutricis omnium malorum est emula, otii inimica. Ille nempe solus ab excercicio se abstineat et labore, qui felicitatis gaudio vult carere.’ The praise of exercise.

58 b. calidior atque for|cior est ad digerendum et molliendum ea que sunt in ea, eo quod sunt partes carnose in ea que sunt calide, que conjuncta et vicina est epati ex cujus calore cibi decoquntur.[1]

Leave off eating while you still have an appetite.

Et in comestione debes retrahere tuam manum, id est, cessare a comestione dum adhuc sit comedendi voluntas seu desiderium comedendi. Quia ex superfluitate cibi angustiatur stomacus, et pectus similiter, gravatur corpus et leditur animus, et cibus remanet in fundo stomachi ponderosus, indigestus et nocivus.

The evils of repletion.

Don't drink much at meals;

Similiter animum tuum a potacione aque retine[2] super cibum, donec[3] in consuetudinem cibi veniat; quia potacio aque frigide super cibum stomachum refrigerat et extinguit ignem et calorem digestionis et cibum confundit et impedimentum generat si multum bibatur, quo nichil deterius erit corpori humano. Si ergo necesse fuerit ut aquam sumas, vel propter calorem temporis vel calorem stomachi sive corporis, vel eciam propter calorem ciborum;[4] modica sit et bene frigida.[5]

if you must, let it be a little cold water.

Pottage.

[1] Pulmentum generaliter sumitur ad molle et durum, liquidum et siccum, sicut patet ex pulmento Ysaac in *Genesi*, et hoc dicunt auctores, ut in libro *Policratico* et in *Smaragdo* et alibi.

[2] abstine. [3] aliter, ne.

[4] id est, propter assumpcionem calidorum ciborum.

[5] De potacione aque et vini super cibum dum comeditur notabile est documentum Avicenne primo *Artis Medicine*. Vult igitur quod nullus debet potare super cibum et maxime vinum, quia potus cito digeritur in stomacho et transit ad epar, et ducit secum partes cibi parvas indigestas, sicut aqua desuper terram currens ducit secum pulveres terre, et postquam hee partes indigeste transierint stomacum, nunquam proficiunt set nimis nocent.
59 a. Ex quibus generantur humores corrupti et | morbi. Et quod hoc sit naturale, patet in animalibus brutis, quia prius comedunt complete et postea bibunt suo tempore. Si tamen in stomaco sit nimius calor ex triplici causa vel ex duabus causis vel eciam de una, de quibus loquitur Aristotiles hic. Tunc secundum Avicennam, debet versus finem, vel magis in fine, sumere parum de aqua bene frigida ut sitis extinguatur; et post horam potandum est sicut necesse est, et hoc est, mediocriter. Set consuetudo et societas mutant hec et quandoque necessitas, quia pauci possunt habere copiam potus post mensam nisi divites et domini sue potestatis et

Avicenna's doctrine as to drinking at meals.

Drink after eating.

If necessary at other times, drink very little.

Capitulum .6. de modo dormiendi super latera diversa et de dolore stomachi et eructacione.

CUm vero tu cibo refectus fueris et a prandio erectus surrexeris, ascende[1] super stramenta[2] mollia, deinde temperate dormi, et requiesce primo una hora super latus dextrum deinde ad sinistrum revertere, et super illud dormicionem perfice, quia latus sinistrum frigidum est et ideo indiget calefaccione.[3]

After meals take a nap, one hour on the right side, then finish it on the left.

Si igitur sentis dolorem in stomacho et in ventre vel gravitatem tunc medicina necessaria[4] tibi est amplecti puellam calidam et speciosam, aut ponere super ventrem camisiam calidam ponderosam, vel saccum plenum avena calefacta, vel tegulam calefactam involutam in panno lineo triplicato, vel pulvinar calidum[5].

Remedies for a pain in the stomach: animal heat, or a warm cloth, or a heated bran-bag, or a hot brick.

Si vero sentis eructacionem acerbam, signum est frigiditatis stomachi. Hujus rei medicina | est bibere aquam calidam cum sirupo acetoso et evomere. Quia incarceracio cibi corrupti in ventre est valida corporis destruccio.

Eructations a sign of a cold stomach: 59 b. drink some acidulated water and vomit.

Capitulum .7. de motu post prandium et de dormicione ante prandium et post.

ET mocio ante prandium excitat calorem naturalem stomachi, set post prandium est nociva, quia tunc descendit cibus indecoctus ad inferiores partes stomachi et exinde generantur inclusiones et alia mala et incomoda.[6]

Don't move about after a meal.

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voluntatis. Unde propter varias occasiones et propter amicos oportet quod frangant consuetudinem. Et ideo comodius est et humanius est potare in mensa, set sepius modicum, ut per interpolatas comestiones tardetur potus digestio, et sic aut non nocebit aut longe minus.

In our days we must drink a little at table for good fellowship.

[1] incede *vel* incumbe. [2] strata subtilia.

[3] Hoc intelligendum est in sanis et bene dispositis, set debiles debent primo dormire super latus sinistrum, sicut docet Avicenna, et secundo super dextrum et in fine super sinistrum ut hic dicit.

[4] id est, utilis. [5] id est, calefactum.

[6] et constrictiones nimie hum⟨er⟩orum generatorum ex cibo et potu, set intelligendum est de magno motu equitando vel itinerando

Understand this of more violent motion:

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1 Chapter xxxix. *V.*

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32 Avicenna] lib. i. f. 3. d. 2. c. 7.

Sleep before and after meals.

Scito autem quod dormitacio ante prandium reddit corpus macilentum et desiccat humiditatem ejus et consumit. Post refeccionem vero mire corpus reficit, replet et corroborat atque nutrit. Quia dum dormit homo quiescit corpus, et tunc trahitur calor naturalis, qui diffusus est per totum corpus, ad stomachum, et ad interiora stomachi,[1] et 60 a. tunc corroborabitur stomacus super decoccionem cibi, | et tunc querit virtus racionalis suam quietem. Propter hoc dixerunt quidam philosophi quod magis proficit vespertina comestio quam meridiana, quia meridiana comestio recipit calorem diei quando sensus operantur et animus vexatur propter ea que audit homo et raciocinatur, et propter cogitaciones et propter multa incomoda et plurima inconveniencia que corpus circumveniunt que veniunt ex calore et motu. Et propter hoc in hora meridiana diffunditur calor naturalis per exteriora corporis et ideo tunc multum debilitatur stomacus et fit impotens ad coquendum cibum. Verumptamen in cena vespertina fit totum contrarium, quia tunc accidit corpori tranquillitas laboris, et tunc est requies sensibus et anime, et tunc est noctis frigiditas que ducit naturam[2] ad interiora et inferiora stomachi.[3]

In sleep the natural heat is withdrawn from the extremities, to help in the digestion.

Food at even better than at noon.

At noon external causes keep the natural heat from leaving the extremities.

At supper-time everything is quiet.

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walk a little after an hour.

vel laborando forti labore. Post unam horam tamen sedendo, utile est suaviter ambulare per aliam horam ante dormicionem, quia tunc est tempus ut cibus descendat ad inferius stomachi, licet non in prima hora, ut voluit, quia Avicenna docet quod multus motus et labor corrumpunt cibum in stomaco. Set sciendum est quod non debet homo dormire immediate post prandium, quia descendit cibus facilius extra stomachum et indigestus, et multum nocet oculis, quia in dormiendo fiunt multe evaporaciones ad capud que gravant oculos; igitur post duas horas bonum est dormire.

Don't sleep at once after a meal.

[1] scilicet, ad fundum ejus.

[2] id est, calorem naturalem.

[3] *Propter hoc dixerunt quidam philosophi quod magis proficit vespertina comestio*, etc. Johannes tamen Damascenus dicit in *Afforismis* suis vel secundum quosdam Diascorides, quod jejunare in estate continue usque ad vesperam facit quatuor mala, generat melancoliam malam, et ictericiam, et maciem, et defectum oculorum, et hoc experti sumus in pluribus.

You must not go without food till supper in summer time.

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1 Chapter xl. *V.*

Capitulum .8. de semel comedendo in die vel bis et consuetudine servanda, et de modo consuetudinem mutandi, si oportet.

Keep your accustomed meal-times.

ITem ignorare tu non debes quod qui consuevit comedere bis in die, si contineat se ad unam certam horam | et 60 b. unam tantum comestionem, certum eveniet sibi nocumentum. Et sic eveniet illi qui consuevit semel in die comedere, et incipit bis comedere. Quia ejus stomachus nequit cibum digerere, et ideo indigestum remanebit nutrimentum. Et qui consuevit in una certa hora comedere, et transfert suam comestionem usque ad aliam horam, cito percipiet quod sue nature non proficit multum set officit, quia consuetudo est altera natura.

Custom is a second nature.

Si igitur aliqua necessitas, que legem non habet, te compellit ad hoc, videlicet ut consuetudo comedendi mutetur, hoc debet fieri discrete et sapienter, videlicet ut fiat mutacio consuetudinis paulatim una vice post aliam, et sic, Dei adjutorio, undique bene fiet.

Necessity has no law.

If you must change habits, do it little by little.

Capitulum .9. quod non iteretur comestio ante digestionem perfectam prioris cibi, et quomodo hoc cognoscatur.

ET cave ne iterum comedas donec certissime cognoveris stomachum esse vacuum, id est, purgatum a primo cibo. Et hoc cognoscas[1] per desiderium, id est, cum voluntatem comedendi habere ceperis, et per subtilitatem salive ad os decurrentis. Quia si quis habunde cibum sumpserit absque corporis necessitate, id est, sine voluntate comedendi, | cibus recens inveniet calorem naturalem quasi 61 a. gelidum ex habundancia humorum infrigidancium et decoccionibus eorum intentum et vexatum, et ideo non potest esse calor intentus hiis et aliis, quia pluribus intentus minor est ad singula.

Do not eat unless the stomach is empty and you have an appetite, or the stomach cannot digest it.

Si vero, cum desideraverit cibum, susceperit eum quis et cum magno desiderio, tunc inveniet cibus calorem naturalem

Eat as soon as you have an appetite,

[1] cognosces.

1 Chapter xli. *V.* 18 Chapter xlii. *V.*

3 quod] quia MS. 7 nequit] nequid MS.

sicut ignem accensum et quasi jam ad cibos coquendos paratum. Et cum ceperis habere desiderium comedendi, debes statim comedere. Nisi enim cito comederis, statim stomachus replebitur pessimis humoribus quos contrahit ad se de superfluitatibus corporis que conturbant cerebrum vapore pessimo, et cum postea affuerit cibus fit tepidus et non proficit corpori, immo nocet.

or your empty stomach will affect your brain.

Capitulum .10. *de quatuor temporibus, scilicet, de vere, estate, autumpno, et hyeme. In quo videlicet dat intencionem suam in universali de* .4. *temporibus anni pro regimine sanitatis: et primo de vere.*

We will now speak of the four seasons.

DE intencione nostra in hoc loco breviter determinare est de quatuor temporibus anni, de qualitate et quantitate et proprietate uniuscujusque temporis sive partis, et de varietate eorundem. Debes quoque, Alexander, sollicite
61 b. custodire quatuor anni tempora | que sic distinguntur.

Spring begins 23¼ hours from midnight March 20–21 to June 23.

The effects of Spring on all Nature.

Ver tunc incipit quando Sol ingreditur signum Arietis, tunc est inicium veris, et durat per nonaginta tres[1] dies et .23. horas et quartam partem unius hore,[2] hoc est a .10ª. die exeunte Marcio usque ad .23. diem Junii.[3] In hoc tempore dies et noctes adequantur in suis regionibus, dulcescit tempus, mitescit aer, sufflant venti, dissolvuntur nives, currunt torrentes inter montes, scaturrizant fontes, extolluntur humiditates ad summitates arborum et capita ramorum, semina surgunt, crescunt segetes, virent prata, pulcrescunt et colorantur flores, induuntur novis foliis et floribus arbores, ornantur terre graminibus, generantur animalia, parantur pascua, cuncta resumunt vires, cantant aves, resonant philomene, recipit tellus integre totum ornamentum et pulcritudinem suam, et fit sicut sponsa pulcherrima, speciosa

[1] ·93·

[2] quarta pars hore est .15. minuta quia hora habet partes .60. que vocantur minuta secundum consideracionem astronomicam.

[3] de qua die estas habebit .45. minuta.

8 Chapter xliii. *V.*   18 94½ days. *Com. Nat.*, p. 420.

juvencula parata monilibus, ornata variis coloribus, ut appareat hominibus in festo nupciali. |

62 a.

The qualities of Spring.

Ver enim est calidum et humidum et temperatum: aeri simile est, et excitatur in eo sanguis et diffunditur per universa membra corporis. Et proficit in eo [1] omne quod est simile ei et equalis complexionis, id est, temperatum.

Suitable food for Spring-time.

Dieta igitur in tali tempore sit temperata, et talia [2] in eo comedantur ut sunt, scilicet, pulli gallinarum, et conturnices, et ova, non superflue set usque ad sex, et lactuce agrestes quas rustici vocant scariolas, et lac caprinum.

Good for blood letting, baths, and purges.

Nullum enim tempus est melius et utilius ad sanguinis minucionem, et proficit in eo usus veneris et motus corporis et solucio ventris, usus balnei et sudores, et specierum pociones ad digerendum et purgatoria accipienda sunt. Quicquid autem erroris per digestionem [3] sive per minucionem [4] et causa medicine acciderit, hoc tempus humiditate sua et habilitate restaurat.

Capitulum undecimum de estate et regimine sanitatis in eo.

Summer begins when the Sun enters Cancer and lasts 92 days 23 hours and 20 minutes from June 23 to September 24.

Estas tunc incipit quando Sol ingreditur primum gradum Cancri et continet .92. dies et .23. horas et terciam partem [5] hore unius, hoc est a .23. die Junii [6] usque ad .24. diem Septembris.[7] In hoc enim tempore elongantur | dies, abreviantur noctes.

62 b.

The effects of Summer on Nature.

In omnibus regionibus crescunt calores, inflammantur venti, tranquillitas est in mari, nascuntur serpentes, funduntur venena, serenitas in aere multiplicatur, desiccantur segetes, corroborantur corporum virtutes, et fit

[1] scilicet, humano corpori.
[2] id est, temperata.
[3] nimiam.
[4] vel, per inanicionem.
[5] que est .20. minuta.
[6] de qua estas non habet nisi tres quartas unius hore, scilicet .45. minuta.
[7] de qua .24. die habet estas .⟨22⟩. horas et .35. minuta hore, quia non remanent de illa die nisi hora et .25. minuta que debentur autumpno.

18 Chapter xliv. *V.* 20 92½ days. *Com. Nat.*, p. 420.

13 sudoris, *corr. to* sudores 22 diem, *iterat* MS.

mundus quasi sponsa corpore completa, etate perfecta, calore inflammata.

Its qualities.

Estivum tempus est calidum et siccum, in quo excitatur colera rubea. Et oportet in eo cavere ab omni quod fuerit calide et sicce complexionis plus justo : excitat enim coleram rubeam : ab esu[1] quoque et potu et a nimia saturitate est abstinendum, ne calor naturalis extinguatur.

Suitable diet for Summer.

Comedas in eo[2] quicquid est frigide et humide complexionis, ut sunt carnes vituline cum aceto et curcubite, et pulli saginati, pulmentum quoque ex farina ordei, fructus quoque acri saporis, et mala acria, et malagranata. Et venus parce petatur aut magis nullo modo; ab omni minucione abstineas nisi necesse fuerit valde in organis, et motus corporis sive balnea habeantur parce. Comedantur ergo, ut predictum est, in isto tempore frigida et humida, ut

Caution in blood-letting, &c.

63 a. frigiditate caliditatis violencia, et humiditate siccitatis malicia reprimatur. Similiter per singula anni tempora oportet quod contraria contrariis curentur.

Contraries are cured by contraries.

Capitulum .12. *de autumpno et regimine sanitatis in eo.*

Autumn begins when the Sun enters Libra and lasts 88 days 17 hours and 36 minutes from September 24 to December 22.

AUtumpnus tunc incipit quando Sol intrat primum gradum signi Libre et continet .88. dies et .17. horas et tres quintenas hore,[3] hoc est, a .24. die Septembris[4] usque ad .22. diem Decembris.

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[1] calido. [2] tempore.

[3] id est, quintas hore que sunt .36. minuta, quia .12. minuta sunt una quinta, quia hora habet .60. minuta.

[4] *A .24. die Septembris etc.*, de qua non habet nisi horam et .25. minuta : *usque ad .22. diem Decembris, etc.* : set si hora et .25. minuta hore de .24°. die Septembris addantur ad .22. diem Decembris, et ab hoc toto auferantur .17. hore et .36. minuta, remanebunt .7. hore et .49. minuta de .22. die Decembris, que hore et minuta erunt de hyeme, a quibus scilicet hyemps incepit tempore Aristotelis.

A reasoned-out calculation.

Vel sic et facilius. A .24. Septembris de qua non habet autumpnus nisi .25. minuta et unam horam, set incipiendo autumpnum ab illis .25. minutis et hora una .24e. diei Septembris,

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19 Chapter xlv. *V.* 21 88 d. 7 m. 30 sec. *Com. Nat.*, p. 420.

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34 Septembris] Decembris MS.

In hoc tempore adequantur dies et nox secunda vice, in hoc eciam nox crescit et tollit de die, et aer frigescit, venti flant septentrionales, mutantur tempora, decrescunt flumina, diminuuntur fontes, marcescunt et arescunt viridia, desinunt fructus, facies terre caret sua pulcritudine, volatilia querunt calidas regiones, animalia suas appetunt cavernas, serpentes foveas ubi colligunt vitam[1] propter hyemem. Mundus comparatur femine plene etatis, indigenti vestibus, quasi si recesserit ab ea juventus et festinat senectus.

The effects of Autumn on Nature.

Autumpnus est tempus frigidum et siccum in quo colera nigra consurgit. Oportet in eo tempore sumere calida et humida, ut sunt pulli et agni, vinum vetus et subtile et uve dulces. Abstineas ab omnibus coleram nigram generanti-

The qualities of Autumn. *Suitable diet.* *Cautions.*

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usque ad .21^{am}. diem Decembris inclusive sunt .25. minuta et una hora cum .88. diebus. Cum ergo Autumpnus ultra .88. dies habet .17. horas et .36. minuta, oportet hoc accipere a .25. minutis et una hora in quibus incepit autumpnus et a .22. die Decembris. Conjungamus igitur .25. minuta cum una hora diei .22^{e}. Decembris, et erunt .25. hore et .25. minuta, a quibus igitur si auferamus .17. horas et .36. minuta, relinquentur tantum .7. hore et .49. minuta, que .7. hore cum minutis erunt de principio hyemis.

Vel sic. Ad .22. diem Decembris, de qua Autumpnus non habet nisi horam et .25. minuta, Set incipiendo Autumpnum ab illis .25. minutis et una hora .24te. die Septembris usque ad .21. diem Decembris inclusive sunt .88. dies et una hora et .25. minutis, que debent addi ad .21. diem Decembris inclusive, et erunt .25. hore et .25. minuta, a quibus si .17. hore et .36. minuta auferantur, remanebunt pro hyeme de .22. die Decembris .7. hore et .49. minuta, a quibus in tempore Aristotelis incepit hyemps. Set nunc incipit in festo Sce. Lucie vel in vigilis ejus, vel circa illud. Set sciendum quod hec computacio stat si supponimus principia aliorum temporum | predicta, scilicet dato quod Ver incepit at .22. die mensis Marcii, ita quod secundum Aristotilem capiat totum diem illum .22. quia aliud haberi non potest secundum Aristotilem, quia non dicit aliquot horas ut duas vel .10. vel aliquot alias capiat; nullam enim excipit, et ideo probabilius est quod pro Vere accipiat totum diem .22. Marcii. Set libri discordant abinvicem, cujus certificacio dependet ab alciori consideracione astronomie quod non potest hic terminari.

Another calculation. *Winter now begins on December 13.* *63 b.* *A difference of authorities.*

[1] vel, victum.

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14 .21^{am}.]. 21 p^{am}. MS.

bus, motus corporis et usus veneris magis excerce quam in 64 a. estate, | balnea quoque et purgatoria, si necesse fuerit, in hoc tempore facias et accipias. Si homo indigeat vomitu, fiat hoc modice in meridie et calidiore hora diei, quoniam in talibus horis et maxime calidioribus superfluitates generantur et congregantur in homine. Purgacio ventris debet fieri in hoc tempore per asymon et angariacon, et per omnia que attrahunt nigram coleram et reprimunt humores.

Suitable medicine.

Capitulum .13. *de hyeme et regimine sanitatis in ea.*

Winter begins when the Sun enters Capricorn and lasts 89 days 7 hours 49 minutes from December 22 to March 21.

HYemps vero tunc incipit quando Sol intrat primum gradum signi Capricorni et continet .89. dies et .7. horas cum .49. minutis, hoc est, a .22. die Decembris usque ad .21. diem Marcii.[1]

The effects of Winter upon Nature.

In hoc tempore nox elongatur, dies abbreviatur, convalescunt frigora et exasperantur venti, cadunt arborum folia, moriuntur pro majori parte virencia et indurantur quasi lapis, major pars animalium in ventre terre et in cavernis montium pro nimio frigore et humiditate latet, obscuratur aer, denigrescunt tempora, contremescunt pecora 64 b. et jumenta, | debilitantur virtutes camporum et corporum. Et tunc est mundus quasi vetula gravida etate decrepita, indumento nuda, morti propinqua.

The qualities of Winter.

Hyemps quoque est tempus frigidum et humidum in quo flegma augmentatur, in quo conversaciones oportet flecti, id est, usus vivendi debet mutari, et debes tunc redire ad cibos calidos et materias calidas, ut sunt pulli columbarum, arietina caro, et assature, et universa pulmenta pigmenta et cibaria

Suitable diet.

[1] Hec computacio stat, sicut predictum est, et sequitur ex principio Veris dato in principio et ex principiis aliorum temporum, scilicet, Estatis et Autumpni. Si vero computemus pro hyeme .88. dies integros tantum, tunc remanebunt .7. hore et .49. minuta de ultimo die Autumpni, et adhuc unus dies integer, scilicet, .21. dies Marcii; et ideo nullo modo possunt precise esse .14. hore ultra dies integros, licet multa exemplaria has habeant.

More computations.

9 Chapter xlvi. *K.* 11 90 d 7 m. 3 s. *Com. Nat.*, p. 420.

33 On the contrary, this would make almost the true length of the mean year 365¼ days. The Arabic text has 14 hours.

calida, ficus quoque et nuces et vinum rubeum et optimum; et sumantur electuaria calida. Abstineas eciam a solucione ventris et a minucione sanguinis, nisi maxima cogat necessitas. Tunc oportet mutare aera, id est, calefacere, neque cibi habundancia[1] utaris neque veneris, ne digestio debilitetur.

Suitable medicine.

Unge tuum corpus et frica unguentis optimis calidis, et utere balneis temperatis; non nocet in hoc tempore usus veneris neque nimius motus corporis, nec multa potacio neque multa comestio.[2] Quia in hoc tempore pre frigore naturalis calor colli|gitur et ingreditur interiora corporis, et ideo eciam melior est digestio in hyeme et validior. In vere et estate venter est frigidus quia in hiis temporibus aperiuntur pori propter calorem et diffunditur calor naturalis per omnes partes corporis, et propter parcitatem caloris stomachi digestio inpeditur, et humores commoventur.

Care of the body in Winter.

65 a.

The pores are open in Spring and Summer.

Scias ergo hoc, et Dominus te conservet. Vale.

Capitulum .14. *de custodiendo calore naturali et vita per res convenientes, vitando contrarias.* **1**

O Alexander, hanc dietam preciosam tibi prefixam custodi, naturalem calorem conservando: quia quamdiu calor naturalis temperatus in homine perseveraverit, et humiditas modum sive mensuram non excedens, reficitur ex ea calor naturalis, et tunc salus et vita indubitanter creditur permanere, et sic sanitas longis temporibus custoditur. Nam duobus modis inveteratur homo ac deficit, uno modo scilicet naturali, qui debito modo nature fit in senectute que vincit naturam in corpore, quia destruit naturam et quasi vinculum in corpore siccitate destruit creaturam. Alio modo accidentali, scilicet ex infirmitatibus et aliis causis et curis pessimis.

By observing this dietary you will preserve your natural heat.

Men die for one of two causes: natural, in old age; accidental, by sickness, &c.

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[1] id est, in algoribus magnis, hoc est in nimio frigore et gelu set in reliquo hyemis tempore debet homo uti sufficienti habundancia in nimiis enim algoribus ebetatur calor naturalis et inpeditur digestio sicut in nimiis caumatibus, id est, in tempore nimis calido. Set tamen in reliquo tempore hyemis temperato fortificatur digestio, quia dicit Ypocras, ventres in hyeme sunt calidiores, et hujus causam dat hic Aristotiles.

Keep warm.

[2] cibi habundancia.

These are the things that fatten the body.

Inpinguant et humectant corpus hec: quies, securitas, et esus ciborum dulcium et[1] potacio lactis dulcis et calidi,
65 b. potacio vini dulcis, et dormitacio post commestionem | supra stramenta mollia et odorifera[2] in locis ac temporibus convenientibus, et ingressus balneorum dulcium aquarum, et in illis sessio modica ut corpus a balneo non balneum a corpore humiditatem accipiat, et ne diuturnitate balnei corpus debilitetur. Odorem senciant sive odorentur in eo herbe odorifere et quicquid boni odoris fuerit, unum quodque enim tempori et unicuique corpori congruum, ut in hyeme absinthum[3] quod est cujusdam floris species, vel herbe calide nature, rose quidem et viole et quicquid nature frigide fuerit in estate.

Baths of sweet waters.

Pleasant odours of herbs.

Vomit once a month to cleanse the stomach.

Excerceatur vomitus semel in unoquoque mense, maxime in estate. Vomitus enim lavat corpus et stomachum, et purgat eum ab humoribus pessimis et putridis. Si pauci fuerint humores in stomacho; confortabitur calor ad digerendum cibos, corpus irrigabitur, et implebitur humiditate et pinguedine; et multo melius ac utilius erit, si cum hac disposicione contingat habere gaudium et leticiam et gloriam et risum mediocrem, et de inimicis victoriam, et spem atque fiduciam in plebe sua, et in ludis et in visionibus delectari,
66 a. et facies pulcras aspicere, et libros delecta|biles legere[4], cum dilectis ridere, cantus suavissimos et delectabiles[5] audire, vestimentis optimis et colorum varietate tinctis indui, et unguentis optimis ungi temporibus congruis.

Pleasure is a good medicine.

Suitable pleasures.

De macerantibus corpus et desiccantibus et debilitantibus nimis.

Things that dry up and weaken the body.

E contra autem, hec macerant et desiccant corpus et debilitant: comedere modicum et bibere multum, laborare et frequenter stare ad solem, et extra mensuram ambulare, et dormire ante prandium supra stramenta dura, excedere,

[1] ut. [2] odoriferis frigidis et humidis mediocriter tamen.
[3] dubium est mihi, licet in omnibus exemplaribus sic inveni.
[4] inspicere vel audire. [5] dulcissimos.

1 Chapter xlvii. *V.* 27 Chapter xlviii. *V.*

mente sollicitari, metuere, et balnea aque sulphuree intrare, et in eis multum sedere, et comedere salsos cibos, acidos, siccos, et frigidos, et vinum vetus multum potare,[1] multum quoque egerere, et sanguinem sepe minuere et minuendo mensuram excedere, in venere modum transcendere, et similiter in solucione ventris, cogitaciones pessimas et tristissimas et metum frequenter habere; hec omnia et plura alia sine dubio desiccant et debilitant.

Regula Ypocratis. Si quis repletus vel constipatus balneum intraverit ylii[2] dolorem vel intestinorum certissime potest incurrere. Item, si coierit quis | ventre impleto, paralysim incurrit.[3] Nec post cibum quis currat, vel multum equitet. Qui simul lac et pisces comedunt, sepe lepram aut albam maculam incurrunt. Vinum et lac similiter operantur. *

Don't bathe on a full stomach, nor swive, 66 b. nor run, nor ride, nor eat fish and milk together.

Curacio enim quarumlibet istarum passionum fit per exibicionem contrarii respectu egritudinis. Observetur eciam regiminis bonitatis in aere, excercicio et ocio, cibo et potu, sompno et vigilia, constriccione et evacuacione, et accidentibus anime.

A summary of the dietary.

Capitulum .15. *de egritudine capitis et ejus remedio in genere et specie.* m

Corpus dividitur in .4. partes: prima pars est capud. Quando ergo in eo congregantur superfluitates, poteris scire per hec signa, que sunt tenebrositas oculorum, gravitas superciliorum, repercussiones timporum,[4] ac tinnitus aurium, inclusio narium. Si quis igitur sentit in se hoc accidere, accipiat medicinalia purgancia capud debita, sive sint cibi

The body is divided into four parts. Signs of sickness in the head. Medicines for this sickness.

[1] temperatus tamen usus vini veteris utilis est in autumpno, sicut prius dixit capitulo de autumpno.

Old wine is good in Autumn.

[2] vel, yliacum. [3] si multum utatur.

[4] unde in spalmo et requiem temporibus, quia timpus est fictio.

9 Chapter xlix. *V.* 21 Chapter l. *V.* Diocles begins.

16. This paragraph is not in Hispalensis, nor in the Vulgate text; it follows the 'de oculis' in the Achillini text.

medicinales sive alia. Unde accipiat esdentim [1] et decoquat ipsum in vino dulci et cum radicibus pullegii donec minuatur medietas, et teneat ipsum in ore quolibet mane donec 67 a. senciat sibi prodesse. Et utatur in cibo suo granis sina|pis et decoquat in pondere unius denarii cum pulvere confecto ex xii [2] unguentis, et hoc in dormitacione sua utatur.

What evils are to be feared from neglected pains in the head.

Si ergo omittat hoc et negligat, timere potest periculosas infirmitates inde, videlicet, corupcionem visus, dolorem cerebri, et multas alias egritudines, a quibus omnibus te custodias in omni tempore.

Capitulum .16. *de egritudine pectoris et signis ejus et ejus remedio.*

Signs of sickness in the breast:

PEctus est secunda pars; si itaque in eo congregentur superfluitates hec signa secuntur: lingua fit ponderosa, os male dispositum et salsum ex flegmate salso, in ore stomachi cibum acerbum sentit homo, et dolorem tussis.

suitable medicines.

Oportet igitur diminuere de comestione et uti vomitu, et post vomitum sumere zucaram rosaceam cum ligno aloes et mastice. Et post comestionem sumere ad magnitudinem unius nucis de electuario magno amissosus [3], quod est confectum ex ligno aloes et transeugam [4].

What evils are to be feared.

Qui vero negligit hec facere, de levi potest incurrere infirmitatem lateris, dolorem in renibus, et febrem et multas alias egritudines.

Capitulum .17. *de malis oculorum et eorum remedia.*

Signs of sickness in the eyes:

OCuli sunt tercia pars corporis. Oportet autem ipsum 67 b. qui laborat in | conservando sanitatem oculorum, ut tueatur eos a pulvere, fumo, aeribus [5] egredientibus ab equa-

[1] nomen arabicum dubium mihi est valde vel falsum, ideo queratur in aliis exemplaribus vel a medicis et apothecariis.

[2] dubium vel falsum, ideo queratur a sapientibus et aliis libris.

[3] nomen arabicum, vel pocius corruptum.

[4] nomen arabicum corruptum, ideo queratur a sapientibus et libris.

[5] vel, acribus, ut ab allio et hujusmodi et cepis.

11 Chapter li. *V.*

24 .17.] 16 MS.

litate in caliditate et frigiditate, et a ventis malis. Non assiduet intueri rem unam a qua non avertat, nec inspiciat multum res subtiles, vitet multitudinem fletus et coitus et multitudinem implecionis potus et cibi, et precipue potuum et ciborum vaporem grossum ad capud emittencium, sicut porrorum caulium et cervisie, nec dormiat super replecionem[1].

suitable medicines.

Res autem que conferunt oculo sunt [species tuthie et] succus feniculi, verbene, rose, celidonie, sive succus rute, submersio oculorum in aqua clara et aperire oculos in ea et extra aspicere eam. Signa disposicionis oculi tam convenientis quam disconvenientis cognoscuntur ex .8. canonibus[2].

Signs by which the health of the eyes is judged:

Ex tactu [1] et ex venis [2] ejus, ex figura [3], ex operacionibus [4] propriis scilicet, ex colore [5], quantitate [6], ab eis passionibus [7] que ex eo exeunt, et a rebus [8] exterioribus occurrentibus secundum calidum et frigidum, siccum et humidum. Ex venis sunt signa oculi si sint | apparibiles et plene humoris, multitudo humoris egritudinis causa est. Qui humor cognoscitur per colorem et dolorem ut si sit lenis[3] et continuus, sanguineum significat, pungitivus[4] colericum,[5] extensivus fleumaticum,[6] agravativus melancolicum significat;[7] deambulativus[8] ventositatem, et per alia signa. Ex figura quidem sunt signa oculi, quia decet esse rotundam in circuitu, et in superficie planam[9]. Ex operacione sunt signa; qui oculi velociter mobiles sunt, calidi judicantur, tarde frigidi, lacrimantes humidi. Similiter quidam vident rem a longe distantem,

68 a.

humours, figure, movements,

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[1] cibi et potus.

[2] id est, regulis. 'Canon' Grece, 'regula' Latine.

[3] scilicet, humor.

[4] propter acumen colere.

[5] scilicet, significat.

[6] quando multum extenditur et dilitatur humor, quia flegma est fluidum et distensivum.

[7] quando humor est gravis et ponderosus, quia tunc siccus est et terrestris sicut melancolia est frigida sicca et terrestris.

[8] scilicet humor oculi id est mobilis hinc inde; tunc notat ventositatem que fit ex materia mobili.

[9] id est, lenem et politam.

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3 subtiles] instabiles *V*   18 colorem] calorem *V*   7 'species tuthie et' *added in margin by corrector*

de prope vero non, quidam vero e converso. De prope short sight, enim videntes, spiritum habent visibilem parvum et clarum [1] qui ex sui parvitate non sufficit se extendere ad longinqua. long sight, Qui vero de longe vident solum, spiritum habent multum set non subtilem set perturbatum et grossum et humidum, unde longo indigent intervallo ad sui depuracionem, ut grossi vapores ab illo separentur. Ex colore sunt signa colour, 68 b. oculi; | quoniam color significat humorem dominantem, scilicet rubeus [2], citrinus [2], plumbeus [2], fuscus [2] sive niger. Rubeus coleram significat, citrinus sanguinem, plumbeus flegma, quia multum habet de humore sordido, fuscus sive niger notat obscuritatem que venit ex melancolia que est quantity, nigra. Ex quantitate sumitur signa naturalia; quoniam magnitudo oculorum cum proporcione operacionum [3] et virtutum multitudinem substancie et bonam eucrasiam [4] ex qua oculi sunt facti ostendit. Ex bonitate operacionis multam substanciam et eucrasiatam demonstrat [5]; cum vicio vero operacionum, parvam substanciam non eucrasia- passions, tam. A qualitate in operacionibus sumitur signa moralia; quia cujus oculi sunt magni, piger est, prominentes [6] inverecundus loquax ac stolidus est, cujus in profundo sunt positi exteriors. callidus est et deceptor. A rebus exterioribus cognoscitur per pacientis indicium. [7]

[1] set quia clarus est hic spiritus facit bonam visionem prope.
[2] color. [3] significant humores.
[4] id est, bonam temperacionem vel temperanciam.
[5] scilicet, oculorum magnitudo.
[6] scilicet, cujus oculi sunt.
[7] scilicet bona vel mala disposicio oculorum, scilicet, secundum racionem calidi et frigidi, humidi et sicci, ut si de prope aspicias ignem leditur visio et sic de aliis, secundum quod oculi sunt longe vel prope a rebus nocivis.

This chapter has been substituted for the following, the original translation, found in some MSS.

23 De tertia parte corporis. Cum superfluitates in ventre congregate fuerint, hec sunt signa: genuum dolor, inflatio, rigor, et ventositates circumeuntes. Oportet igitur nec sentientem purgari cum aliquibus subtilibus mollificativis, et uti regimine quod supra de pectore prediximus: quicunque hoc non fecerit incurret in dolorem juncturarum et tergi, in fluxum ventris, corrupcionem digestionis, et oppilationem epatis.

Capitulum .18. *de malo genitalium et eorum medicina.*

TEsticuli sunt quarta pars corporis ; cum itaque superfluitates corporis congregantur in eis hec signa secuntur ; tepet appetitus, et cetera. Oportet ergo illum qui sentit hec | ut accipiat herbam que dicitur ache[1] et anamag[1], et ponat radices et herbas in vino albo boni odoris, et sumat ex eo quolibet mane, ita quod sit temperatum cum aqua et melle. Et abstineat a nimia comestione. Et si obmittat hanc medicinam, timere poterit dolorem testiculorum et pulmonis et periculum lapidis.

[Signs of evil in the genitals. — 69 a. — Suitable medicines. — What evils are to be feared.]

Capitulum .19. *de conservantibus sanitatem potenter, et contra venenum medicina certissima.*

LEgitur in libris de historiis antiquorum quod quidam rex potens congregavit medicos meliores, Indorum, Medorum et Grecorum, et injunxit eis ut quilibet eorum studeret facere talem medicinam, qua si utatur homo proficiat sibi et alia non indigeat.

[A king once sought for a universal medicine ;]

Sane Grecus indicavit et dixit quod sumere quolibet mane aquam calidam pleno ore bis, ita sanum redderet hominem quod non indigebit alia medicina. Medus vero affirmavit quod jejuno stomacho prodest multum sumere de granis milii. Indus dixit quod si quis sumeret .5. grana cimini cotidie jejuno stomacho, alia non indigeret medicina. Ego vero dico quod ille qui tantum dormit quod non habet in ventre ponderositatem cibi, non time|bit febrem neque guttam ; et qui comedit quolibet mane .7. dragmas racemi passi bone dulcedinis non timebit aliquo modo de infirmitatibus flegmaticis, cujus memoria emendatur, intellectus illuminatur, et qui tempore convenienti sue complexioni utitur, securus erit et non timebit febrem quartanam. Et

[the Greek advised a mouthful of warm water every morning. — The Mede. — The Indian. — The best diet sleep till all the food is digested. — 69 b. — Eat raisins,]

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[1] nomina Arabica, querantur a medicis.

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1 Chapter lii. *V.* 11 Chapter liii. *V*

nuts, figs, and rue.

qui comedit nuces cum ficubus et paucis foliis rute, ei eadem die non nocebit venenum.[1]

Capitulum .20. *de custodia caloris naturalis, et de duplici corrupcione corporis.*

Preserve natural heat.

O summe rex, modis omnibus studeas custodire calorem naturalem et retinere, quia quamdiu caliditas temperata est in homine et humiditas, calor naturalis temperatur et

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Antidotes to poisons.

[1] Nota super omnia hanc medicinam de nucibus et ficubus et ruta, quia utilissima est et facilima et certissima. Unde infelices sunt reges et principes et prelati et alii qui timent venena quod non utuntur hac medicina. Et medicorum maxima cecitas comprobatur. Certitudo vero istius medicine non solum per Aristotilem hic habetur set per Macrum in libro *herbarum* et peritissimi medici et probatissimi antiqui, licet a longe et in parte innuunt cum hec. Summa vero certitudinis est per experienciam sapientum, sicut aliqui nostri temporis et antiqui solebant facere. Nam in Hystoriis Romanis et aliorum auctorum legimus quod Mitridates rex Ponticeorum regionum potentissimus et sapientissimus set tamen crudelissimus, qui expugnavit Romanum imperium per .40. annos, et reges tres amicos Romanorum expulit de regnis suis, usus est hac medicina. Cum propter nimiam crudelitatem suam ejus filii et excercitus sui facti sunt ei contrarii, et obsessus ab eis, malens mori quam tradere se in manus eorum, bibit venenum. Set mori non potuit propter comestionem medicine dicte, qua omni die usus est propter insidias inimicorum. Novi eciam hominem de sanguine omnium regum nobilium et imperiali, qui habuit inimicos mortales innumerabiles et potentissimos, qui consilio sapientum medicorum usus est hac medicina et conservatus est, licet aliquando recepit venenum.

Macer. — Mithridates. — This antidote used in Bacon's time.

The dose,

Macer igitur exponens Aristotilem docet quod sumantur omni die jejuno stomacho due nuces majores, et due carice, id est, ficus sicce, cum .20. foliis rute, et sic nunquam venenum nocebit: |

70 a. Contra venenum: Recipe avellanas et nuces ana .10. foliorum rute uncias iij, sales uncia una, ficuum siccarum .20., et omnia fortiter terantur et postea piscentur, et magdaliones ad pondus nucum formentur, et qui timet de veneno, ante comestionem comedat unum bolum, et si detur venenum immediate vomet, et si comederit post receptum venenum similiter vomet. Item contra vomitum: Panem assume et rosas distempera, cum aceto et succo mente ana, et super stomachum emplastrum pone et restringet vomitum.

and preparation of the antidote; — against vomiting.

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3 Chapter liv. *V.*

29 Macer, in ruta, c. vii.

corroboratur, quia sanitas et durabilitas in hiis modis duobus consistit.

De duplici corrupcione.

Decay of the body from two causes: natural, or accidental.

Sciendum est in hoc loco quod destruccio et corrupcio corporis provenit ex duabus causis, una naturalis, alia contra naturam. Naturalis provenit ex contrariarum qualitatum repugnancia et contradiccione, quando siccitas dominatur in corpore. Corrupcio vero contra naturam provenit ex aliqua causa accidentali, sive ex bello sive ex offensione ad lapidem, sive ex aliis fortuitis casibus, sive ex infirmitate et malo consilio.

Capitulum .21. de divisione ciborum et eorum cognicione.

Kinds of food. 70 b. Gross foods. Ordinary foods.

CIborum quedam sunt subtilia, quedam grossa, quedam media. Subtilia subtilem generant sanguinem clarum et bonum, ut sunt frumentum, pulli gallinarum bene nutriti, et | ova. Grossa vero cibaria valent calidis hominibus, et laborantibus in jejunio, et dormientibus post prandium. Media autem cibaria non generant inflacionem nec superfluitatem, ut sunt carnes agnine, arietine, castratine, et omnes carnes que sunt calide et humide. Hujusmodi[1] tamen videntur fallere in hiis carnibus quando assantur, quoniam inde adquirunt duriciem caliditatem[2] et siccitatem. Si itaque tales carnes assantur, cito comedantur, et tunc laudabiliores sunt[3] et precipue quando in eis suaves species apponuntur.

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[1] id est, talia documenta.

[2] scilicet, exterius set interius sunt humide et ideo duricies exterior debet amoveri.

[3] quia si dimittantur infrigidari, duriores sunt et minus sapide.

The digestion of food.

Considerandum igitur est quod secundum Aristotelem .4. *Methaphisice* quod assata interius sunt humida, et elixata interius sunt sicca, et ideo assata melius nutriunt. Set tamen durum exterius removeatur, propter quod Avicenna primo libro *Artis Medicine* docet quod minuti debent comedere carnes assatas ad restaurandum sanguinem.

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12 Chapter lv. *V.*

Foods which cause melancholy.

Quedam vero cibaria sunt que generant melancoliam, sicut caro bubali, vaccina, ovina, et omnes que sunt grosse et sicce et aspere. Aliqua tamen animalia ex hiis habent subtiles carnes que pascuntur in humidis et aquosis locis et umbrosis ; eorum carnes sunt meliores et saniores, suaviores et molliores.[1]

Delicate foods.

Which fish may be eaten ;

Idem est dicendum de piscibus. Sciendum quod piscis parve substancie et subtilis pellis et facilis masticacionis qui nutritus sit in aquis salinaticis[2] currentibus, talis est levior 71 a. et melior | et sanior quam ille qui nascitur in mari vel in dulci aqua. Oportet ergo cavere ab illis piscibus qui sunt magne substancie dure pellis, quia talis solet esse venenosus. Et hoc de piscibus ad presens sufficiat, quia in libro quem composui *de pulmentis et medicinis* invenies sufficienter de ista materia determinatum.

which to be avoided.

Capitulum .22. de cognicione et naturas aquarum.

Of waters.

Scire debes quod aque sunt utiles cuilibet viventi tam animalibus quam vegetabilibus. Et memento quod docui te sufficienter de aquis, et satis ostendi tibi quod aque omnes tam dulces quam amare originem traxerunt a mari : de hac re feci tibi demonstracionem manifestam. Nunc supra sciendum est quod leviores et saniores aque sunt ille que sunt[3] prope civitates et torentes. Quando igitur terra pura est a rupibus non habundans fumositatibus, aqua illius loci est levis optima et laudabilis. Aqua vero nascens in terra lapidosa que habundat fumositatibus est gravis infirma nocibilis : et aqua, in qua sunt rane et serpentes et alia animalia venenosa, est infirma, sicut aque sunt palustres. Signa siquidem bonarum aquarum sunt hec : levitas, claritas, 71 b. albe|do, bonus odor, quando facile calefiunt et facile frigescunt, in talibus enim delectatur natura. Aque vero salse et

All waters come from the sea.

Which waters are best ;

which are unhealthy.

Signs of good water.

[1] scilicet, propter pascua.
[2] hoc est, salsis non tamen de mari.
[3] currentes.

7 Chapter lvi. *V.* 16 Chapter lvii. *V.*

27 aqua] in aqua MS.

amare fumose dicuntur, et ideo desiccant ventrem et dissolvunt. Aque autem palustres[1] sunt calide graves, quia stant et non moventur, quia Sol diu durat super ipsas; ideo generant coleram et faciunt crescere splenem et pulmonem. Aque que diu scaturizantur in albis terris sunt calide et infirme,[2] quia continent in se particulas terreas.[3] Et potacio aque frigide stomacho jejuno ante prandium nocet corpori et extinguit ignem stomachi. Potacio vero post prandium calefacit corpus et generat flegma, et si multum sumatur corrumpit cibum in stomacho. Debes igitur bibere aquam frigidam in estate et calidam in hyeme, et non e converso, quia potacio aque calefacte in estate mollificat et debilitat stomachum et destruit appetitum, sicut potacio aque frigide in hyeme extinguit calorem et destruit instrumenta pectoris, et nocet pulmoni, et multa generat nocumenta.

Signs and effects of bad water.

Not to drink cold water fasting.

Drink cold water in summer and warm in winter.

Capitulum .23. de cognicione et generibus vini.

Sciendum quod vinum cujus racemus est natus in monte | soli opposito est siccioris nature quam illud quod nascitur in plano et in locis madidis et umbrosis. Primum vinum valet senibus et hominibus habundantibus in humiditate et flegmate, nocet vero juvenibus et calidis hominibus. Primum ergo calefacit et liberat a superfluitatibus frigidis et grossis. Et vinum, quanto rubicundius et spissius tanto magis generat sanguinem, set quando est forte et fortis amaritudinis, tunc dicitur primus sanguis et primum nutrimentum, et habet naturam potacionis et medicine, et sumptum diu valde nocet. Quando vero vinum hujus generis[4] est dulce, nocet stomacho, generat ventositates

Of wine.

72 a.

Two sorts of wine.

Dry wine good for old men.

Red wine makes blood.

Sweet red wine is harmful.

[1] et stagnorum.

[2] scilicet, propter longum motum, quia motus calefacit.

[3] scilicet, multas quas trahunt secum propter longitudinem itineris.

[4] scilicet, quod est rubeum et spissum.

17 Chapter lviii. *V.*

5 scaturizantur] scanturizantur MS

The best wine of all.

et inflaciones. Laudabilius et suavius omni vino quoad omnes complexiones est illud quod nascitur in terra extensa

Where it grows; its cultivation,

inter montes et valles, cujus racemus est bone dulcedinis, perfecte maturitatis, subtilis aeris, quod non vindemiatur donec egressa fuerit fortitudo[1] sue substancie et humiditas corticis, insipitudo palmitum et granorum graciliorum;

colour, and taste; lees.

cujus color est aureus[2], cujus sapor est medius acutus[3] et

72 b. delectabilis, cujus fex in fundo depressa[4] | est, cujus partes

Use it in moderation.

subtiles sunt et arecentes (vel arefacte). Quando itaque tale reperitur, sume de ipso temperate juxta etatem corporis

Its properties.

et temporis qualitatem, quia confortat stomachum, calorem corroborat naturalem, juvat digestionem, conservat a corrumpcione, ducit cibum, decoquit et perducit ipsum purificatum ad omnia membra que reguntur, et decoquit cibum ipsum in eisdem membris donec convertatur in sanguinem

It comforts the brain,

subtilem et substancialem; tunc ascendit ad cervicem cum calore temperato, et reddit capud securum a fortuitis casibus,

makes the heart glad, and has many other good effects.

insuper cor letificat, colorem rubificat, linguam reddit expeditam, liberat a curis, et hominem facit audacem, et excitat ad omnia appetitum, et multa alia bona facit.

But if too much is taken it hurts the wits,

Vinum autem quando sumitur habundanter in magna quantitate, tunc hec mala consequntur: obscurat intellectum, et inpedit sensum, et turbat cerebrum, debilitat virtutem naturalem et animalem, generat oblivionem[5], ledit omnes sensus quibus regitur et disponitur tota operacio corporalis,

enfeebles the body,

fugat appetitum, debilitat cathenas corporis et juncturas, generat tremorem membrorum, et lippitudinem oculorum, |

73 a. accendit coleram, destruit epar quia reddit ejus sanguinem

destroys the liver, causes many sicknesses,

grossiorem, et cordis cruorem denigrat. Ex inde proveniunt timor et horror, tremor, sompnilocucio[6], fantastice visiones, corrupcio coloris, debilitacio genitalium, destruccio seminis,

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[1] scilicet, superflua.
[2] id est, medius inter rubeum et citrinum.
[3] scilicet, inter amarum et dulce ut est acutus.
[4] id est, bene defecata antequam extrahatur de dolio etc.
[5] obliviosum. [6] id est, locucio in sompnis.

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21 Chapter lix. *V.*

abhominacio stomachi ; distemperat complexionem, generat corporis grossitudinem, et quod deterius est, lepram inducit, et tunc est de genere venenorum. Cavendum est igitur ne vinum ultra modum [1] sumatur, quia vinum imitatur naturam et complexionem reubarbari que est vita epatis, que habet proprias utilitates que continentur in libris medicinalibus, et nichilominus reubarbarum est quandoque venenum mortiferum, videlicet illis qui ultra modum sumunt ex eo, et transgrediuntur certam mensuram et quantitatem.

and even leprosy.

Wine is like rhubarb,

sometimes good, sometimes a mortal poison.

Vinum etiam comparatur nature serpentum ex quibus antidotum [2] efficitur, et lesiones maxime per eorum medicinam expelluntur, verumptamen omnibus notum est quod venena mortifera gerunt in se et generant.

Or it is like the serpent from which Antidotum is made.

Capitulum .24. de commendacione sirupi acetosi et remedium contra ebrietatem.

O Alexander, nunquam tedeat te sumere mane sirupum acetosum jejuno stomacho, et non jejuno | quando, scilicet, convalescunt humiditates et habundanter flegma dominatur, quia valde sanativum est. Sapiens Aristo [3] multum mirabiliter bonum vinum commendavit ubi dixit : Mirum est de homine qualiter potest infirmari vel mori, cujus cibus est panis optimi frumenti et carnes commendabiles, cujus potus est vinum bone vitis, et ex hiis utitur temperate, abstinendo se a nimia et mala comestione, potu, coitu, et labore, quomodo huic accideret egritudo.

Take every morning some syrup of vinegar.

73 b.

Aristo praised good wine and good bread,

used temperately.

Oportet siquidem illum qui libenter inebriatur vino ultra modum sumpto ut abluat se cum aqua calida, et sedeat super fluenta aquarum currencium et habeat salices atque mirtam, quia confert multum, et ungere debet capud et

The cure for drunkenness : wash him with warm water, seat him on a riverside, anoint him and incense him.

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[1] id est, mensuram.

[2] id est, medicina contra venenum sicut tyriaca.

[3] hic stulti scribunt Aristotiles pro Aristo qui fuit philosophus quidam alius ab Aristotile, et ideo dicunt quod hic liber non est Aristotilis. Preterea debet scire quod tres fuerunt Aristotiles, sicut patet ex Plinio et Censorio.

Aristo is not Aristotle.

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14 Chapter lx. *V.*

corpus suum cum saldel confecto[1] et fumigare cum incensis frigidis et odoriferis. Hec est siquidem ebrietatis optima medicina.

De modo mutandi consuetudinem.

How to leave off the use of wine: first use grape-juice, then dilute it with more and more water.

Si quis proponit penitus vel ex toto relinquere potum vini, non debet subito ab usu penitus vini abstinere, set
74 a. paulatim de potu vini ad potum uve passe transire | et exinde adjungere aquam paulatim una vice post aliam donec veniat ad puram aquam, quia per istum ordinem servatur complexio nature a gravibus egritudinibus et futuris.

p

Capitulum .25. de hiis que corroborant corpus et cetera, et est hoc capitulum simile capitulo .14. set quia optima sunt documenta ideo iterat, licet alio modo, et addit quedam et alia minuit.

Some things strengthen, some weaken, the body.

POst hec itaque sciendum est quod quedam alimenta de hiis coroborant et impinguant et quedam macerant, et quedam humectant et quedam desiccant, quedam res dant et reddant corpori vigorem et pulcritudinem, quedam generant pigriciem et tepiditatem.

These things strengthen the body.

Ea siquidem que ipsum corpus corroborant sunt alimenta suavia levia sue nature conveniencia, quando sumuntur tempore competenti et in hora necessitatis sicut prediximus. Ea vero que ipsum corpus impinguant et humectant sunt hec: requies corporis, leticia mentis, jocunda societas, et cibaria calida et humida, potacio vini dulcis, et sumpcio mellis humidi quod colligitur et nutritur in locis privatis in caule geldel[2].

Sleep on soft beds.

Et nichil tantum valet ad hoc quantum dormicio post prandium
74 b. super suavia stramina in locis frigidis, et balne|ari in balneis[3]

Warm baths.

calidis et parum stare in eisdem ne humiditas corporis

[1] id est, cum unguento de salidale, nomen Arabicum.
[2] nomen est arabicum.
[3] aliter, aquis.

11 Chapter lxi. *V.*

4 *Side note*: 'memento narracionis Guillelmi, de consuetudine amovendo.'

dissolvatur in magna quantitate, quia melius est ut corpus habeat de humiditate et madefaccione balnei quam e converso. Odores odorare jocundantes animam et convenientes tempori in quo est, verbi gracia, odorare racemum in hyeme quia calide sunt nature, rosas vero et violas in estate. Excercere vomitum bis vel ter in mense, et in estate maxime, quia vomitus abluit stomachum et purgat a malis humoribus et corruptis humiditatibus. Nam quando iste corrupte materie expelluntur a stomacho, naturalis calor augmentatur et confortatur ad alimentum digerendum. Rege igitur bene tuum corpus si vis ut crescit, et observa meum consilium, cum hiis quippe magis[1] valet solacium et divicias[2] habere, reverenciam et victoriam super inimicos acquirere, delicate vivere, solaciari in instrumentis musicis[3], videre et delectari in rebus formosis, legere in libris delectabilibus, audire cantica leticie, esse cum amicis delectis, indui fulgentibus et speciosissimis | vestibus et conferre[4] cum sapientibus querendo de rebus preteritis et futuris, confortare virtutes racionales, uti unguentis convenientibus tempori in quo es; hec siquidem sunt que homines inpinguant.

Pleasant odours.

Vomit twice a month.

Indulge in reasonable pleasures of life.

75 a.

Res vero que faciunt contrarium, videlicet, que macerant corpus sunt hec: diminucio cibi et potus, frequentacio excercicii et laboris, stare in calore et sole, longa vigilia, dormicio ante prandium super duros lectos, et, quia caliditas impeditur propter nimiam humiditatem que inest corpori, balneari in aquis sulphureis et salsis et dissolutivis et calidissimis, fames, potacio[5] veteris vini puri, frequens purgacio ventris, diminucio sanguinis nimia, nimius usus veneris,

The things which diminish the body.

[1] id est, multum.

[2] scilicet, necessarias set non superfluas, quia inducunt sollicitudinem nimiam de multiplicacione earum et timorem ne amittantur, et maximum dolorem de amissione, et hec tria sunt pessima, sicut patet ex capitulo quartodecimo et istius secunde partis.

The evils of riches.

[3] vel, musicorum. [4] id est, confabulare.

[5] scilicet, magna et frequens, sicut expositum est supra capitulo .14.

22 Chapter lxii. *V.*

paupertas, sollicitudo, timor, mala cogitacio et anxietas doloris frequenter accidentes, et mali eventus.

q

Capitulum .26. de balneo, scilicet, de modo ingrediendi et exeundi.

A bath is built with four rooms, like the four seasons: cold, tepid, warm, and dry.

BAlneum itaque est unum de miraculis (vel mirabilibus) hujus mundi, quia edificatum est secundum anni quatuor tempora, quia frigidum attribuitur hyemi, tepidum veri, 75 b. calidum estati, siccum autumpno. | De summa ergo prudencia est facere in balneo quatuor mansiones ordinatim ita ut prima sit frigida, secunda tepida, tercia calida, et quarta sicca. Et cum quis ingredi voluerit, debet primo aliquantulum in prima stare, et parum ibi morari, deinde secundam intrare, et parum ibi morari, et post in terciam parvulam moram facere, postmodo vero ingrediendo quartam et similiter facere. Et cum voluerit exire, debet eundem modum servare, faciendo morulam in qualibet mansione camerarum ne exeat ex nimio calore ad nimium frigus, aut de nimio frigore ad nimium calorem.

Bathers should stay a while in each in turn, and return in the same way.

The site of a bath and its furnaces.

Et sit balneum edificatum in alto et in loco ventoso, et habeat fornaces magnas et latas reddentes flammas latas, et aquam dulcem.

The use of odours in the bath.

Et utendum est in eo odoribus convenientibus tempori presenti, videlicet in vere et estate utendum est temperato odore, scilicet, triplicato et quadruplicato.[1] In autumpno vero et hyeme fruendum [2] est duplicato [3]. Deinde sedendum 76 a. est super sedilia aquis rosaceis | inbuta, et postea super alia sedilia, et postea faciat se tergere cum linchiamine albo et mundo de lino una vice, et postea de alio alia vice ; postquam omnia ita compleverit et delicate ablutus fuerit, exeat ad alias mansiones statim, et utatur sequentibus documentis et unguentis.

Shampooing and rubbing.

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[1] odorifero, id est, triplum vel quadruplum : plus de odoriferis debent poni in vere et estate quam in autumpno et hyeme.
[2] fovendum. [3] odore.

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3 Chapter lxiii. *V.*

Si ergo vincatur a calore, pectinet se et utatur unguento purificato convenienti tempori. Quia in vere et in estate debet uti unguento scesarino confecto de sandel et emleg:[1] in autumpno et hyeme debet uti unguento confecto de mirra et de succo herbe que dicitur bletes, et proicere super capud artificiales aquas et temperatas. Deinde debet abluere et fricare inde corpus donec fuerit inde lotum bene et mundum. Deinde ungat corpus quibusdam unguentis que conveniunt temporibus suis. Deinde gradatim exeat sicut docuimus in precedentibus. Deinde tergat se donec allevietur.

The cure when overcome by the heat.

Si itaque scitiat, bibat sirupum rosaceum (vel rosarum), et sumat de electuario cum muscato. Deinde tendat brachia sua | aliquantulum, deinde post modicam horam sumat paucum cibum bene paratum cum tranquillitate. Et bibat de bono vino temperato cum tanto de aqua et secundum quod consuevit bibere, et non sumat multum set moderate. Deinde subfumigabit se incensis convenientibus illi tempori; deinde requiescat in locis delicatis, et accipiat de sompno bonam partem, et hoc multum juvat; deinde debet continuare residuum diei cum gaudio et quiete. Iste siquidem ordo sanitatis et nutricionis est corporis.

What to drink in the bath,

76 b.

and eat. Take a little wine and water, smell a little incense, sleep, and spend the rest of the da pleasantly.

Qui vero est senex vel superatur a frigiditate et humiditate, caveat morari in balneis multum. Debet siquidem stare in balneo tantum, donec corpus suum de humiditate balnei madefiat, aquam temperatam proiciat super se multum cito quando (vel quantum) voluerit. Oportet autem fleumaticum non intrare balneum nisi jejuno stomacho, et ungere se unguentis calidis. Qui vero fuerint calide nature, teneant precedentem doctrinam.

Old people should not stay too long in the bath.

Men of phlegmatic nature should bathe on an empty stomach.

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[1] nomina arabica que querenda sunt a medicis et ab apothecariis et sic de aliis vocabulis ante et retro, et etiam in aliis exemplaribus, si fortasse sit dubitacio.

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19 locis] lectis *V*.

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Capitulum .27. de commendacione doctrine precedentis, sive de utilitate sue doctrine.

Follow this doctrine — 77 a. — and you will not need a doctor. — Periodic illnesses. — Attend to my book of 'urines', — and to the book of medicines; — many useful secrets are there revealed.

O Alexander, quando cognoveris datum documentum et opere compleveris, faci|et te non indigere medico tempore toto vite tue, cum Dei adjutorio. Sciendum est utique quod graves infirmitates que generantur ex caliditate vel ex periodis[1], et ex cursu lune cognoscuntur, an sint breves an longeve, et eciam ex signis precedentibus cognoscitur ad quem finem debeant pervenire. Et ego docui te fideliter, et ostendi breviter divisiones et cogniciones infirmitatum. Et in aqua similiter est signum probatum in hiis rebus, set precedencia signa sunt meliora et veriora, sicut determinavi in libro *de aquis*. Et hec signa sufficiunt illi qui tenet bene in memoria doctrinam illius libri, sicut et continetur in libro quem feci *de medicinis compositis*, et in potacionibus artificialibus, in unguentis confectis et emplastris, secundum ordinem et artem Grecorum, Ytalicorum, Indorum, et Persarum, in quibus nullum experimentum fuit fallax. Quia igitur secreta ista utilia erant sepulta, eo quod ignorabantur nec inveniebantur usquequaque, ideo indignum esse decrevi si tuam laterent clemenciam.

De gloria inestimabili.

The great medicine. — 77 b. — The treasure of philosophers. — Names of great philosophers, — who inquired into supernatural things,

Dignum utique est ut tu scias magnam medicinam que dicitur 'gloria inestimabilis' | que etiam vocatur 'thesaurus philosophorum'. Ego siquidem nunquam percepi nec veraciter novi quis eam invenerit. Quidam enim asserunt quod Adam fuerit ejus inventor. Alii dicunt quod Esculapius[1], et Hermogenes[2] medicus, Hirfos[3], et Donasties[4], et Vatildos[5] Hebrei, et Dioris[6], et Caraus[7], gloriosi philosophi qui sunt 8[2], quibus datum est noscere secreta scienciarum que latebant omnes homines. Isti sunt qui inquisierunt et

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[1] Hic sumitur pro motibus circularibus, nam 'periodus' Grece est 'circuitus' Latine, a 'peri' quod est 'circum' et 'odos' quod est 'via'.
[2] 7. written above 8.

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3 Chapter lxiv. *V.* 22 Chapter lxv. *V.* This heading is written as part of the text.

disputaverunt de hiis que sunt supra naturam, de pleno, de vacuo, de finito, et de infinito, et concorditer convenerunt in confeccione istius medicine inestimabilis quam diviserunt in .8. partes. Quidam siquidem volunt et affirmant quod Enoch novit hoc secretum per visionem. Volunt enim dicere quod iste Enoch fuit magnus Hermogenes quem Greci multum commendant et laudant, et ei attribuunt omnem scienciam secretam et celestem.

And came together in making this medicine.

Some say Enoch was Hermogenes.

Capitulum .28. *de arte conficiendi* '*gloriam inestimabilem*', *et primo de arte conficiendi mel*, *quo conficiuntur medicine posterius dicende*, *scilicet*, .8. *que conponunt* '*gloriam inestimabilem*'.

A honey or vehicle for the medicines.

Cum Dei benediccione sume de succo maligranati dulcis .25. rotulas[1], de succo maligranati acris | .x. rotulas[2], et de succo racemi dulcis claro .i. rotulam, et de succo pomorum dulcium .10. rotulas, et de zucaro claro albo et mundo .10. rotulas. Hec omnia ponantur in vase, ita ut sit ad medietatem, et cum discreccione decoquantur cum suavi igne et penitus sine fumo, et tollatur tota spuma, et tantum decoquatur quousque efficiatur sicut mel spissum. Hoc quidem est illud mel optimum quo conficiuntur medicine;[3] debes ergo uti sicut predictum est.

78 a.

Of pomegranate-, grape-, and apple-juice, and sugar,

boiled down to viscidity.

Prima medicina que confortat principalia membra, *scilicet*, *cerebrum*, *cor*, *et stomachum*.

The first medicine for the brain, heart, and stomach.

Sumatur cum Dei benediccione et ejus adjutorio de rosis rubeis .i. rotulam, et de violis quarta pars rotule, et omnia ponantur in .x. libris aque dulcis, postquam in eo appositum fuerit de aqua eleorongan[4] media pars rotule, et de aqua mente viridis medietas rotule, et de aqua ling⟨u⟩e

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[1] id est, partes. Rotula est genus ponderis unde alia litera habet .25. partes.

[2] genus ponderis, sicut apud nos uncia vel dragma.

[3] posterius dicende que componunt 'gloriam inestimabilem'.

[4] nomen arabicum.

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9 Chapter lxvi. *V.* 25 Chapter lxvii. *V.*

bovis .i. rotula. Colligantur ita omnia ista et decoquatur cum .i. uncia de elegaman[1] et gariophilo. Et hec omnia debent stare super ignem per unam diem et noctem donec egrediatur tota vis eorum. Deinde ponatur supra ignem 78 b. suavem donec diminuatur tercia pars aque, | deinde deponatur et permittatur clarescere. Et postea ponantur in eo de preparato et predicto melle .iij.. rotule, et tantum decoquatur quousque spissum fiat. Deinde ponatur in eo una dragma et dimidia de ambra, et .iij. dragme de ligno aloes trito et humido. Et hec est prima medicina (sive pocio) cujus effectus est confortare cerebrum, cor, et stomachum.

Confeccio medicine .2. cujus est corroborare stomachum et constringere et purgare putridos humores stomachi sine violencia et abhominacione.

The second medicine strengthens the stomach and purges gently.

Sumatur cum Dei benediccione de mirabolanis et galanga cubebis rotula, ejecto cortice[2] citrini, de medulla caroble de Babilonia quarta pars unius rotule, et de liquiricia sine cortice, que est citrini coloris, due uncie, et de granis maturis de virotis in suo tempore due uncie. Conterantur bene hec omnia et ponantur in .10. rotulis aque dulcis per unam diem et unam noctem. Deinde decoquatur suaviter donec deficiat medietas aque, deinde misceatur et coletur donec fiat clarum. Et tunc ponantur in eo de melle preparato[3] due rotule et tantum decoquatur iterum done⟨c⟩ inspissetur. Deinde apponatur de pulvere masticis uncia una, et de rabarir[4] quarta pars uncie. Et hec est secunda medicina cujus proprietas est corroborare stomachum et 79 a. con|fortare et constringere et purgare malos et putridos humores qui congregantur in stomacho sine abhominacione et violencia et sine aliqua lesione. Insuper confortat cathenam corporis[5] et pectus et cerebrum.

[1] nomen arabicum.
[2] vel, stipite. [3] de quo docuit in principio capituli.
[4] id est, reubarbare.
[5] scilicet, compages et juncturas.

15 Chapter lxviii. *V.*

Confeccio medicine .3. cujus est confortare omnia membra occulta et maxime principalia, scilicet, cor, cerebrum, et epar.

Sumatur cum Dei benediccione una rotula de emleg et dimidia, et de elileg Indico dimidia pars unius rotule, et de darsan cariole, et de galanga, et de nuce muscata una uncia. Teratur totum non nimis subtiliter et ponatur in aqua dulci .x. rotulis, et maneat in ea per unam diem et unam noctem. Deinde decoquatur cum suavi igne et suaviter donec minuatur medietas, deinde misceatur et coletur donec clarum fiat, et postmodum ponatur cum tribus rotulis mellis artificialis;[1] deinde tantum bulliat donec densum fiat. Et hec est siquidem tercia medicina, cujus proprietas est corroborare omnia membra occulta et maxime principalia

The third medicine strengthening the chief viscera.

Confeccio medicine quarte que juvat appetitum et instrumentum pectoris et pulmonem.

Sumatur cum Dei benediccione de aqua palmitum[3] et de rubis ferentibus mora silvestria libra .i., de aqua salsa colata[4] bene .i. libra, | de aqua apii colata media libra, de aqua lactuce agrestis libra .i., de aqua radicum bethales libra .i.: deinde totum colligatur et congregetur in unum et ponatur in eo aceti albi quarta pars 'sub', et effeti[5] quarta pars libre. Colligatur totum et stet per unum diem et unam noctem; deinde coletur, et ponantur in eo de melle[6] libre .iij.; deinde decoquatur cum igne levi et tenui donec inspissetur. Et est quarta medicina; et ejus est proprietas quod juvat appetitum et instrumentum pectoris, et pulmonem.

The fourth medicine strengthening the appetite, lungs, and breast.

79 b.

[1] de quo melle in principio medicinarum locutus est.
[2] cor, cerebrum, et epar.
[3] Palmes est virgula vel ramus vitis (*in marg.*)
[4] aliter, cayrsen, id est, cudune.
[5] litera est falsa, ideo queratur in aliis exemplaribus (*in marg.*).
[6] supradicto.

4 Chapter lxix. *V.*   18 Chapter lxx. *V.*

19 rubis] rebus MS.

Confeccio medicine quinte que expellit melancoliam, subtiliat flegma, et tollit humiditates, stomachum temperat, aperit constipaciones et ventositates expellit.

The fifth medicine strengthening the stomach and expelling phlegm.

Sumatur estines[1] recens libri $\frac{1}{2}$, et berforthes libri $\frac{1}{2}$, et de ferat viridi .iij. uncie, et de trifera viridis 'sub' .i. et ponantur in .xij. 'sub'[2] aque dulcis, addantur cimini 'sub' .iij., et stet per unum diem et unam noctem. Deinde decoquatur donec medietas aque diminuatur, et sumantur 'sub' .4. de melle preparato, et iterum tantum decoquatur donec inspissetur. Hec est igitur quinta medicina cujus proprietas est expellere melancoliam, subtiliare flegma, et superfluas humiditates tollere, stomachum temperare, aperire con-
80 a. stipaciones, | et ventositates expellere.

Medicina sexta leniens pectus, conferens respiramento, reparans stomachum, repellens dolorem dencium et renum.

The sixth medicine for the breast, stomach, teeth, and reins.

Sumatur cum Dei benediccione de colatura seminum contrariorum[3] medium 'sub' de qualibet, de gumi arabico uncie .iij. et de granis pini uncia .i. Dissolvantur omnes in aqua rosata et apponantur de melle preparato 'sub' .iij., et inspissetur bona inspissacione super ignem. Hec est medicina sexta, cujus proprietas est linire pectus, et conferre respiramento, reparat stomachum, et repellit dolorem dencium et renum.

Medicina .7. reparans stomachum et fugans ventositatem.

The seventh medicine for the stomach and wind.

Sumatur cum Dei benediccione de spica indica dragme .iij., et de aretim, et tantum de amomo, et de cubebis dragme .iij., equaliter de corawed longo et brevi dragme .iij., et ponantur tres 'sub' aque dulcis, et iterum stet donec exeat[4] virtus ejus. Deinde teratur et coletur, et ponantur de melle

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[1] arabicum nomen. [2] genus mensure ut libra.
[3] vel, coctanorum. [4] crescat.

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4 Chapter lxxi. *V.* 16 Chapter lxxii. *V.* 25 Chapter lxxiii. *V.*

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21 linire] lenire *corr.* 29 teratur] trahatur *corr.*

preparato et clarificato in quantitate 'sub' .iij., et decoquatur ab igne levi donec inspissetur. Hec est ergo septima medicina, cujus proprium est reparare stomachum et fugare ventositatem.

Medicina octava emendans epar, reparans cor, et confortans omnia membra interiora.

The eighth medicine for the liver heart, and viscera.

Sumantur de reubarbaro recenti solido dragme .iij., et de clavini[1] dragma .i., et constringatur totum, et desuper ponatur de | aqua dulci, 'sub' .x., et stet in ea donec virtus 80 b. ejus exeat. Deinde teratur leniter et diu et coletur, et desuper apponantur de melle preparato 'sub' .iij., et decoquantur levi igne donec inspissetur et ingrossetur. Hec est medicina octava, cujus proprietas est emendare epar, et reparare cor, et confortare interiora membra universa.

Medicina nona et ultima que est finis omnium medicinarum, cujus laudes patent in littera.

The ninth and last medicine, which is composed of all the others.

Deinde sumantur et aggregentur omnes octo medicine precedentes, et sic erit nona et ultima medicina et finalis. Deinde ponantur ad quantitatem omnium dactili Indici recentes mundati a granis suis, quorum interiora sunt tenera ad modum cerebri. Et si non inveniatur tale, dissolvatur in aqua donec egrediatur virtus, sicut factum fuit in predictis. Deinde congregetur totum in uno vase et fundatur desuper aqua rosata odorifera .vi. 'sub', et decoquatur quiete totum donec videatur condensari. Deinde tollatur ab igne et dimittatur donec tepefiat. Consequenter ponatur in ea de optima ambra dragme .iij., et de musco optimo dragme .iij., et ponantur in dicto electuario de margaritis bene tritis medium 'sub', et de pulvere | lapidum 81 a. preciosorum rubei coloris et celestis et flavi ana dragma .i.

Mix it with pearls and precious stones,

[1] aliter, clavregeh.

7 Chapter lxxiv. *V.* 17 Chapter lxxv. *V.*

8 constringatur] confrigatur *corr. at foot of page*

aut duas dragme de quolibet, et de succo nardi[1] dragme .iij., et de subtili pulvere auri dragme .ix. Deinde ponatur hoc electuarium totum sic confectum, ut dictum est, cum predictis rebus in vase aureo subfumigato cum ligno aloes.

expose it to the favourable influence of the stars.

Deinde ponatur sub divo ad serenum, ut descendant virtutes spirituales in ipsum, per octo dies. Et non permittatur ibidem in illa nocte in qua Luna erit malignior et carens cursu superiori in radiis suis.[2]

Quando igitur completa est et juxta hunc modum consummata, erit de thesauris philosophorum hujus mundi.

The dose to be taken.

Accipe ergo de ipso post cibum dragma .i. et similiter ante cibum dragma .i., quia est summa omnium medicinalium (vel medicinarum) et finis cujuslibet medicinalis intencionis:

The virtues of this medicine.

et ad fugandum melancoliam et coleram flammeam, et calorem renum, et flegma, et ad fugandum emoroydas, et ad repellendum inflacionem, et salsam coleram, et ad dirigendum cibum, et | ad temperandum complecciones, et ad

81 b.

subtiliandum musculos, et ad quiescendum timpora[3] (vel tempora), et ad tollendum dolorem capitis, et ad visum clarificandum, et ad senectutem retardandam, et ad subtiliandum vocem, et ad effugandas fumositates, et quiescendas omnes molestias et egritudines apparentes et occultas. Aperit opilaciones, expellit ventositates, et non permittit aliquem locum apostemari nec colleccionem humorum facere. Et impedit naturales infirmitates et humectare facit corpus, et facit bene urinare et tollit tussim et confortat spinam dorsi, juvat respiracionem; et generat gaudium et letificat, et multa alia bona facit que longum esset enunciare. Set habet specialem proprietatem ad generandum intellectum et ad nutriendum cerebrum. O Alexander, ideo non

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[1] aliter, de luto smaragdi dragme .iij.

When Luna is unfavourable.

[2] Luna dicitur malignior quando est in detrimento suo, et hoc est precipue quando est in Capricorno, quia domus ejus, que dicitur maxima dignitas ejus, est Cancer; et tunc in meliori disposicione. Et caret cursu superiori quando est in inferiori parte sui epicicli. Tunc cavendum est quod hec medicina non ponatur ad aerem in radiis Lune; et hoc vult dicere philosophus.

[3] id est, ad quietem temporum.

oportet te aliquo tempore aliam medicinam sumere, set hac utaris.[1]

Capitulum .29. de preparacione carnis viperarum sive serpentum et draconum, et earum proprietate et eleccione, et de tempore sumendi et modo preparandi et faciendi trociscos pro multis egritudinibus. Et loquitur generaliter de serpente colubro et dracone, quia ex quolibet eorum fit magna medicina et nobilis. 82 a. S

A medicine of vipers' flesh :

QUia de serpentibus fit magna medicina, et sunt quidam homines ut Ethiopes et alii qui vescuntur carnibus serpentum et draconum, ut tibi dixi in libro *de medicinis* |

The difficulty of understanding Arabic names.

[1] Considerandum est in hoc capitulo .28. de nominibus Arabicis, quia fere omnia sunt dubia, ideo requirenda sunt multa exemplaria, et apothecarii et medici periti sciunt et cognoscunt illa quia in libris eorum hujusmodi nomina continentur. Et est notandum quod in hoc capitulo magno, scilicet, .28., docet omnia que requiruntur ad composicionem summe medicine que vocatur 'gloria inestimabilis' | et primo componit composicionem mellis quo utitur postea, et secundo ponit .8. medicinas particulares ex quibus cum melle preparato componitur una medicina ex omnibus. Et hec est 'gloria inestimabilis' quam peritus medicus et expertus posset bene facere si esset dives. Set medici non utuntur libro isto, aut paucissimi; de quo dampnum infinitum accidit mundo propter bonos prelatos et principes. 82 a.

Any expert physician can make this inestimable glory if he is rich enough.

It gives the full natural life.

Nam per hanc medicinam extenditur vita usque ad ultimos terminos vite naturales quos Deus constituit, quia omnes infirmitates excludit, et malas complexiones reducit ad statum bonum, et curat omnes infirmitates. Vidi enim medicum peritissimum qui majorem principem in regno Francie post regem, avarum, pusillaminem, tristem, malencolicum, debilem, et multis aliis viciis anime et corporis gravatum, curavit ab omnibus malis per hanc medicinam; et factus est largissimus, audacissimus, letissimus, et curatus ab omnibus passionibus malencolicis, et ab omnibus viciis corporis et anime naturalibus et moralibus.

I have seen it cure the greatest man in France, physically and morally.

Faithful apothecaries can compound this medicine.

Et si lector hujus capituli ignoret artem medicine, non negligat, set roget apothecarios fideles et peritos, et similiter medicos magnos et sapientes et multum peritos et expertos, ut ostendant ei et doceant eum omnia que hic continentur. Et si fuerit dives, potest laborare ad conficiendum hanc medicinam per sapientissimos medicos et apothecarios peritissimos. Et si excusent se quod res

82 b. et ibi ostendi earum proprietatem mirabilem per quorum usum curantur a diversis langoribus et gravibus, et utilitates

the uses of it.

consequntur laudabiles tam in anima quam in corpore, quoniam eorum decorantur corpora pulcritudine juvenili et renovantur, intellectus et memoria clarificantur, quia confortant virtutes et sensus, et eos debilitatos ex senectute reparant et relevant, ideo hic scribam breviter de tempore capcionis eorum et de signis eligendi bonos, et modo preparacionis et conservacionis, et aliquid de proprietatibus, quia nolo quod istud te lateat quin scias ad plenum.

When to catch the vipers.

Accipiantur vipere cum est finis veris et incipit estas, et si fuerit ver hyemale dimittantur usquoque consequatur

Description of the proper kind:

principium estatis. Et sunt vipere quidam serpentes capita habentes plana, que sunt lata proprie apud propinquitatem colli, minuti, subtiles valde, quorum caude sunt curte strepitum facientes et sonitum in incessu. Et istis trociscis non

colour,

conveniunt omnes vipere, immo flave, et de flavis femine. Et earum signum est quod masculi in omni latere habent

teeth.

unum dentem et femine plures uno. Et oportet ut alienentur cornute et varie et aspides declines ad albedinem.

Where not to catch them.

Et non capiantur ex piscinis vel litoribus fluviorum et aquarum vel marium, vel de petrosis, quoniam in eis sunt quer-

83 a. cine, facientes | sitim, immo capiantur in loco longinquo ab

Not to catch feeble ones.

humorositate. Et non capiantur ille que sunt debilis motus, immo eligantur ille que sunt velocis motus habentes

Catch them alive.

capud elevatum. Et oportet ut non moriantur cum capiuntur, si possibile est. Et abiciantur a parte capitis ipsius quatuor digiti, et similiter a parte caude ipsius et ani ejus,

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If you can't buy the drugs in England you can find them at Montpellier.

non inveniantur in Anglia, possunt in nundinis magnis Francie inveniri, vel in Montepessulano.

Sciendum quod predictus medicus sapientissimus qui curavit supradictum principem per hanc medicinam addidit os de corde

Some additions to the medicine.

cervi et anthos, qui est flos roris marini; qui anthos est mirabilis contra passiones senectutis et contra passiones melancolicas. Et si bene recolo, addidit trociscos tyri serpentis electos non sophisticatos.

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15 curte] certe MS

Signs of goodness.

quod si cucererit ex ea sanguis, et fuerit ipsius motus in illa disposicione plurimus, et mors illius tarda, tunc erit electa. Et si fuerit parvi motus et pauci sanguinis, et velocis mortis, tunc est mala. Et de signis ejus iterum est ut sit motus ejus velox, et aspectus ejus aspectus audacie et presumpcionis, et sit egressio fecis ex postremo caude ipsius.

The preparation of vipers' flesh.

Cumque mortua est, extrahantur viscera ejus et maxime fel ipsius, et abluatur cum aqua et sale ablucione exquisitissime facta, deinde decoquatur in aqua et sale, et si cum eis fuerit anetum, non est malum. Decoquatur ergo quousque levis fiat colleccio carnis ejus ab osse ipsius; mundificetur ergo caro ab osse et proiciatur in mortario et conteratur bene; et precipiatur illi qui facit illud ut odoret balsamum, id est, oleum balsami, et inungat ipsum super digitos. Cum ergo trita est, misceatur cum tortellis secundum diversas descripciones, et non eligatur secundum descripcionem Andromachi, et deinde fiant trocissi ex ea, minuti, subtiles, et desic|centur in umbra et reponantur in repositorio.

Andromachus.

83 b.

Not to be exposed to sunlight.

Et oportet ut non cadat super eos radius Solis omnino, nec ante exsiccacionem nec post ipsam. Sol naturam destruit et exspoliat eos a virtute appropriata carnibus viperarum, interficiente venena que sunt ex morsione et ebibita[1].

Property of the flesh when eaten.

Proprietas ejus carnis est quod ipsa facit penetrare superfluitates ad cutem, et proprie quando homo non est mundificatus. Cuidam enim accidit ex comestione ejus exitura in collo magna, quam aperuit, et exivit caro ejus tota conversa in pediculos. Et caro iterum ejus, cum usu habetur, prolongat vitam et confortat virtutem et confert lepre magnifice, et cum administratur in allopicia magnum confert juvamentum. Ejus melior caro est femine, et melior cutis ipsius est cutis masculi. Exsiccacio in carne est fortis, set calefaccio non est vehemens, et cutis ejus est vehementis exsiccacionis.

Property of the juice.

Jus serpentis et caro ejus confortant visum et multa alia faciunt que nimis longum esset enarrare.

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[1] vel, bibicione.

Capitulum .30. de tempore flebotomie et medicinarum laxativarum accipiendarum, et scarificacionis et ventose.

Of blood-letting.

84 a. ET ne facias aperire venam nec locum aliquem nisi facias de consilio et volunta|te hominis scientis summam scienciam astrorum, quia virtus nature clarificatur in hoc. Cave igitur, O Alexander, ne assumas medicinam vel venam aperias vel locum scarifices nisi de licencia sciencie astrorum, quia utilitas sciencie medicinalis exaltatur seu comendatur in hoc. Si volueris fleobotomari vel sanguinem minuere, non attemptes aliquid horum facere donec novilunium tantum crescat quod recedat a Sole per .4. vel .6. gradus.[1] Et cave ne sit Luna in Tauro, in Cancro vel Pisce vel in Geminis. Et precave de aspectu Solis ad Lunam ascendentem. Et similiter cum fuerit Luna in conjunccione existens in signo aquoso.[2]

Take advice of an astronomer before blood-letting, &c.

Do not let blood in a new moon.

Evil signs for blood-letting.

84 b. Cave eciam ne fuerit Mercurius in constellacio|ne ascendente vel sibi oppositus, et similiter dico de Saturno. Et utilior horarum ad apercionem venarum in ultima medietate mensis lunaris est, ita quod Luna sit lumine diminuta,[3] et

Watch Mercury and Saturn.

Be bled in the third quarter of the moon.

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[1] Hoc est, quarto die vel sexta, quia quinta die non est conveniens secundum sanctos et philosophos et poetas. Docetur enim in *Ecclesiastica Historia* Bede quod non est minuendum quinta die et Servius ac Virgilius primo *Enoydis* dicunt quintam fuge, etc. Septima tamen Luna potest homo sibi minuere.

The advice of Bede and others.

[2] Secundum Ptolomeum in *Centilogio* quando Luna est in Geminis non debet fieri minucio, quia tunc humores superflue currunt ad locum humidum et generant, et non de facili constringitur vena set rumpitur, cujus causam assignat, quia Gemini habent respectum sue virtutis ad brachia et ideo natura excitata per virtutem Lune et Geminorum multiplicancium humores, et quia Luna humida est et Gemini nimis humidi, transmittit humores ad locum respondentem Geminis, et hic est locus brachiorum. Que signa sunt aquosa quere in principio libri, et ibi invenies raciones signorum, et que sunt sanguinea et melancolica, que colerica et fleumatica, et similiter de aspectibus, et posui figuras horum.

The reasons why these signs are evil.

[3] scilicet, in tercia septimana mensis die .4. vel sexto vel septimo.

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3 Chapter lxxvi. *V.*

quod sit in Libra vel in Scorpione, et cum nocive stelle in eam non respiciunt. Et tunc est Luna deterior, cum fuerit in secunda medietate reproba vel nociva.[1]

In diminucione vero sanguinis, non per apercionem venarum set per scarificacionem carnium, operandum est cum fuerit Luna decrescens in lumine et non [2] respiciant ad ipsam stelle nocive,[3] set est [4] opposita stelle Mercurio, et quod Luna sit cum Venere, vel respiciat ipsam Venus vel Mercurius. Cum vero Luna fuerit in constellacione ascendente, tunc habet dominium et potenciam in opere.[5] The time for scarification. The planets.

Cum volueris sumere medicinam laxativam, consistat Luna in Scorpione vel in Libra vel in Pisce, set precave de appropinquacione Lune ad Saturnum, quia tunc facit congelare humores et medicinam in corpore. Et quanto magis elongatur Luna a Saturno, tanto melior est, nec est timen- 85 a. Laxative medicine. Constellations to avoid. Favourable constellations.

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[1] et hoc fit cum fuerit in disposicione contraria predicte triplici disposicioni.

[2] aliter, nisi.

[3] ut Mars et Saturnus.

[4] aliter, et.

[5] Secundum Ptholomeum in *Centilogio*, minucio per fleobotomiam debet fieri in prima septimana Lune, quia tunc fluunt humores ab interioribus ad exteriora sicut flumina a mari, propter quod oportet quod purgacio fiat exterius, et hoc per fleobotomiam. Similiter in tercia septimana a plenilunio per septem dies. Set in secunda septimana et in quarta humores fluunt ab exterioribus ad interiora sicut flumina ad mare, et tunc oportet quod purgatorium penetret interiora, et hoc est medicina purgativa sive laxativa, etc. *Decrescens in lumine*, etc., quia in libro *Novem judicum Astronomie* hoc docetur, et precipue in quarta septimana quia sanguis ille qui per scarificacionem habetur est intercutaneus et aquosus, et quarta septimana est aquosa, quia frigida et humida, sicut docet Aristotiles secundo *Posteriorum*. Quod enim dictum est de prima septimana mensis lunaris et tercia secundum | Ptholomeum intelligitur de flebotomia, quia sanguis qui per hanc purgatur venit ab interioribus et non est intercutaneus, set sanguis qui est purgandus per scarificacionem est intercutaneus et ideo purgatur in quarta septimana propter causam dictam. Consimile omnino est de purgacione per ventosam quia intercutaneus est. Ptolemy's advice for phlebotomy: scarification in the last quarter of the moon; 85 a. intercutaneous blood.

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11 Chapter lxxvii. *V.* 29 p. 28, ed. 1509.

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15 elongatur] elongantur MS.

dum cum fuerit in Mercurio. Sit itaque principium tui operis secundum bonam constellacionem Lune et ejus absenciam a nocivis stellis, et secundum ejus prosperitatem in suo ascensu.[1]

Observe the position of the Sun in the zodiac,

Cum volueris dare aliquam medicinam, vide in quo signo sit Sol, quod quidem poteris per presentem mensem cognoscere, si diligenter inspicias signa et menses in presenti spera descriptos. Si enim sit in colerico signo oportet plus acui medicina,[2] in melancolica plurimum. Si autem in sanguineo fuerit signo, oportet modicum acui medicinam, et
85 b. si in fleumatico minus. Nam secundum racionem | et qualitatem signi et racionem quando Sol prolabitur, scilicet, in signo, plus et plus constringitur ventris natura, et laxatur.

and that of the Moon.

Preterea diligenter est attendendum utrum Luna sit in colerico signo aut melancolico aut fleumatico. Si enim ambo luminaria in colericis signis se receperint vel respexerint, medicina tunc alicui data parum movebit. Si vero in melancolico, aut nichil omnino aut multum parvum accipientem solvet.

The best signs.

Quod si in fleumaticis signis Sol et Luna extiterint, facilime medicina sumpta duret, et precipue si fuerit Luna in augmento.[3]

Conjunction of Moon and Jupiter.

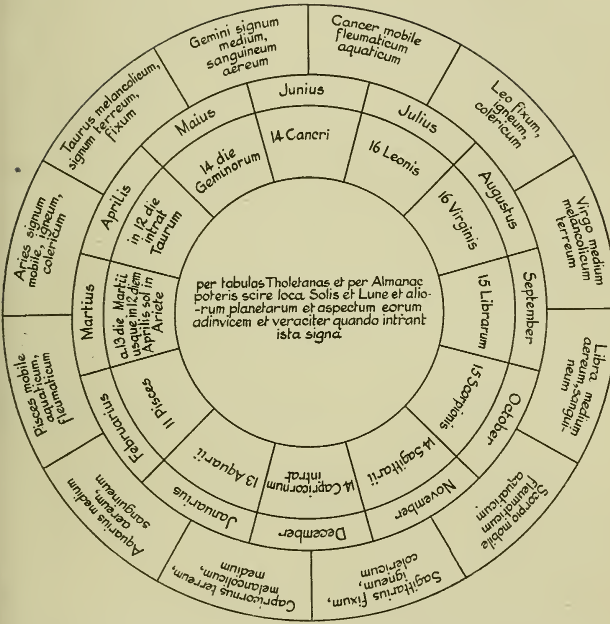
[1] Secundum Ptholomeum in *Centilogio* in recepcione medicine non debet Luna esse cum Jove, quia ex bonitate Jovis confortatur in tantum natura, ut destruat effectum medicine, et ideo per contrarium debet opus dimitti quando Luna habet contrarias disposiciones.

[2] scilicet, quam in sanguineo et fleumatico.

[3] Signum colericum est siccum, et melancolicum est magis siccum, et siccum constringit. Signum vero sanguineum est humidum, et fleumaticum magis quantum ad lubricacionem, et ideo laxant quia humidum lubricat et laxat.

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5 Chapter lxxviii. *V.*
22 Verb. 19 (f. 108[a], ed. 1493).



The following foot-note in our MS. appears as part of some texts: 'Plinius dicit quod crescente Luna crescunt tocius corporis humores, scilicet, sputa, Screatus, et egestionum superfluitates: decrescente Luna, decrescunt hec omnia. Hec nature secreta potest quilibet experiri in seipso.'

De aspectu Lune ad planetas.	✳ Sextilis aspectu.	△ Trinus aspectus.	□ Quadratus.	☍ Opposicio.	☌ Conjunccio.
Saturni	Dies fortunata, bonum est jungi cum consulibus et senibus et agere res cum eis.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est in ea edificare, plantare, et res antiquas agere.	Dies timenda. Cavendum est in ea jungi regibus et potentibus seu divitibus omnino.	Dies cavenda in omnibus operibus et nullum in ea est bonum opus faciendum.	Dies ista cavenda est in omnibus et nullum bonum est in ea.
Jupiter	Dies laudabilis, bonum est jungi justis judicibus et querere quod justum est et laudabile in omni tempore.	Dies laudabilis ad augenda justa judicia et omnem justam inquisicionem et omne opus bonum et amiciciam secundum Deum.	Dies laudabilis ad justa agenda et inquisicionem sapiencie et rem quam vult occultari et maxime si fuerit ipse occultus sub radiis solis.	Dies laudabilis in omnibus operibus; bonum est jungi potentibus et petere veritatem et quod justum est.	Dies laudabilis omni operi et proprie in minucione sanguinis, et medicaminibus et ceteris similibus.
Mars	Dies laudabilis, bonum jungi ducibus et regibus, disponere excercitus, uti armis et tractare de bello.	Dies laudabilis fortunata, bonum jungi regibus et emere bestias et tractare de bello.	Dies cavenda, non bonum jungi divitibus et regibus; cavendum in ea omne opus in quo speratur bonum.	Dies cavenda in omnibus operibus et in ea nullum bonum est.	Dies cavenda in omnibus operibus quia nullum bonum est in ea.
Sol	Dies fortunata, bonum jungi consulibus et senibus ac regibus potestatibus principibus et petere principatum.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est in ea jungi senibus et regibus et colere terras et disponere omnia opera.	Dies laudabilis omni operi si fuerit luna recepta: si non, nullum bonum set cavenda est in omni opere.	Dies cavenda est in omnibus operibus quia nullum bonum est in ea.	In hac die erit luna sub radiis, nullum bonum nisi in hiis que necesse sunt occultari et contegi.
Venus	Dies laudabilis, jungi juvenibus et militibus et querere dileccionem. et ornamentum.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est indui novis vestibus, ornari, et nubere et omne ornamentum querere causa dileccionis.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est emere servos et indui novis vestibus, adducere operarios, ornari ornamentis, uti balneis et delectari.	Dies laudabilis, bonum emere servos, indui vestimentis novis, uti medicaminibus digestivis, si in scorpione opponitur.	Dies laudabilis omnibus operibus et peregrinacioni, uti militibus, emere subtilia et petere uxorem.
Mercurius	Dies laudabilis, bonum est in ea computare, scribere, et jungi consulibus, scriptoribus, et disponere opera.	Dies laudabilis, bonum jungi scriptoribus, firmare pactum, jungi consulibus, et disponere opera.	Dies laudabilis, bonum mittere cartulas, tractare de scripturis, sedere cum sapientibus, et hiis similibus.	Dies mediocris, in convencione scriptorum regum, et horum similium.	Dies laudabilis, bonum jungi scriptoribus et computatoribus et agere omnia opera.

86 a.
Aspects of the Moon.

Cum fuerit Luna in capite vel cauda in uno signo, est dies cavenda in omnibus operibus, et non est capiti vel caude opposicio, neque quartus aspectus neque trinus sive sextilis. Cum fuerit Luna separata a malo, et juncta fuerit fortune, erit dies laudabilis. Cum vero separata fuerit a fortuna et juncta malo, erit e contrario. Et cum separata fuerit a malo et non fuerit juncta fortune, erit dies cavenda. Si vero separata fuerit a fortuna et non fuerit juncta malo, erit dies tota laudabilis. Et cum fuerit Luna cursu vacua, erit dies illa inutilis, nisi tantum ad quietudinem et introitus balneorum et usus annore, quod est genus medicaminis quod aufert pilos; et maxime si fuerit in Scorpione. Item cum fuerit Luna juncta pluribus planetis si fuerint plures earum fortune, erit dies laudabilis. Et si fuerint plures eorum mali, erit dies cavenda; si vero fuerint equales, erit dies mediocris. Si vero fuerit conjunccio Lune cum planetis retrogradis vel combustis aut cadentibus, erit similiter. Item cum fuerit Luna longe a conjunccione malorum, id est, cum | fuerit inter ipsam et malos plures gradus, 86 b. erit ipsa dies laudabilis in operibus. Et si fuerit longe a conjunccione fortune, erit cavenda in operibus. Et si fuerit Luna in domo vel in exaltacione sua, vel in aliqua domorum Jovis longe a conjunccione, erit dies laudabilis. Si vero fuerit in aliis locis, erit mediocris. Hoc est esse Lune in longitudine ac proximitate sue conjunccionis cum planetis tam in conjunccione quam in opposicione et in quarto sive trino aspectu vel sextili. Intellige.

Explicit pars secunda de regimine sanitatis regum principum ac dominorum.

25 de, *iterat* MS.

O

Incipit pars tercia hujus libri de consideracionibus et utilibus reipublice et regnorum sive naturalibus sive moralibus, cujus capitulum primum est de alkimisticis. |

87 a. DE proprietatibus et qualitatibus et virtutibus quarundam herbarum, et de earum utilitatibus, brevi tractatu in sequentibus determinabimus. In aliis siquidem libris nostris plene de proprietatibus lapidum et viribus herbarum et naturis plantarum declaravimus, et ideo que nunc sunt dicenda de plantis et de lapidibus quantum ad presens opus sufficiunt. Set scire debes, O Alexander, quod sicut in plantis divise[1] sunt nature diverseque vires divinitus indite, sic et in lapidibus diverse inveniuntur species et virtutes, quarum pulcritudines et utilitates precio inestimabiles maxime et principaliter conveniunt regie magestati; decorantur regum diademata lapidibus preciosis, quorum pulcritudine visus juvatur, animus delectatur, dignitas ornatur; et eorum virtute gravissime egritudines a corporibus expelluntur, sine quibus parum efficax est medicina; et ideo utuntur medici eis in medicinis ad morbos gravissimos expellendos. Ingens vero virtus et mirabilis
87 b. tam in plantis quam in lapidibus est collata, set hu|mano generi est occulta. Set nos in libro *de lapidibus* et in libro *de plantis* exposuimus eorum proprietates plenius et virtutes.

Properties of herbs.

Earlier treatises on plants and stones.

The uses of precious stones for ornament and health.

Inprimis, O Alexander, tradere tibi volo secretorum maximum secretum, et divina potencia juvet te ad perficiendum propositum, et ad celandum archanum. Accipe ergo lapidem animalem, vegetabilem, et mineralem, qui non est lapis, nec habet naturam lapidis. Et iste lapis assimilatur quodammodo lapidibus moncium minerarum, et planta-

The greatest secret,

take the stone which is not a stone,

[1] vel, diverse.

5 Chapter lxxix. *V.* 25 Chapter lxxx. *V.*

rum, et animalium: Et reperitur in quolibet loco et in quolibet tempore et in quolibet homine: Et convertibilis est in quemlibet colorem: Et in se continet omnia elementa: Et dicitur minor mundus. Et ego nominabo ipsum nomine suo quo nominat ipsum vulgus, scilicet, terminus ovi, hoc est dicere, ovum philosophorum. Divide ergo ipsum in quatuor partes: quelibet pars habet unam naturam. Deinde compone ipsum equaliter et proporcionaliter, ita quod non sit in eo divisio nec repugnancia, et habebis propositum, Domino concedente. Iste | modus est universalis, set ego dividam tibi ipsum in operaciones speciales. Dividatur itaque in quatuor, et duobus modus fit bene et sine corrupcione. Quando ergo habueris [1] aquam ex aere, et aerem ex igne, et ignem ex terra,[2] tunc habebis plene artem. Dispone ergo substanciam aeream per discreccionem,[3] et dispone substanciam terream per humiditatem et caliditatem [4] donec conveniant et conjungantur, et [5] non discrepent nec dividantur. Et tunc adjunge eis duas virtutes operativas, aquam et ignem, et tunc complebitur opus. Quia si permiseris aquam solam [6] dealbabitur,[7] et si junxeris ignem [8] rubefaciet,[9] Domino concedente.

which is found everywhere,
called the lesser world,
or the philosophers' egg. Divide it into four parts.
88 a.
Of the nature of the four elements.
Unite them in due proportion;
add fire and water,
and you can make silver or gold.

Et pater noster Hermogenes qui triplex [10] est in philosophia optime prophetando dixit:

The Emerald Table of Hermes.

Veritas ita se habet et non est dubium, quod inferiora superioribus et superiora inferioribus respondent.

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[1] id est, sepera quodlibet a quolibet. [2] complete.

[3] id est, per modos proprios et discretos qui docentur in hac arte.

[4] quia per aquas acutas debet teri et ablui, et per calorem ignis vel solis torreri. [5] ut.

[6] scilicet, cum aere et terra.

[7] id est, fiet argentum (vel faciet).

[8] scilicet, ad aquam et aerem et terram.

[9] id est, faciet (vel fiet) aurum.

[10] triplex quia fecit, scilicet, naturalem, moralem, et methaphisicalem, sub naturali habetur alkimia.

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22 Chapter lxxxi. *V.* Two chapters (p. 173) in the Achillini text come before this, found in Book XIII of the Hebrew text.

Operator miraculorum unus solus est Deus, a quo descendit[1] omnis operacio mirabilis.

Sic omnes res[2] generantur ab una sola substancia[3], una
88 b. sua sola disposicione.

Gold and silver in alchemy.

Quarum pater | est Sol,[4] quarum mater est Luna.[5]

Things wax and wane with the Moon.

Que portavit ipsam naturam per auram in utero,[6] terra impregnata est ab ea.[7]

Alchemical secrets.

Hinc[8] dicitur Sol causatorum pater, thesaurus miraculorum, largitor virtutum.

Ex igne[9] facta[11] est terra[10].

Distillation.

Separa terrenum ab igneo,[12] quia subtile dignius est grosso, et rarum spisso. Hoc fit sapienter et discrete. Ascendit enim de terra in celum, et ruit de celo in terram.[13]

---

[1] per creacionem et regimen universale mundi.

[2] scilicet, naturales.

[3] scilicet, celestis.

[4] scilicet generans et producens sub Deo.

[5] *Sic omnes res*, scilicet, naturales, istud potest exponi alkimistice et figurative de auro et argento, quia in rebus humanis temporalibus omnia fiunt per aurum et argentum. Unde per solem potest intelligi aurum et per lunam argentum, et hic est mos alkimistarum. Et terra quantum ad res humanas impregnatur et fecundatur per argentum, et aurum est pater miraculorum, et cetera, id est, per ipsum fiunt mirabilia in humanis rebus.

[6] scilicet, qui est terra, quia, scilicet.

[7] Quia a virtute Lune dependent naturales proprietates rerum; sicut enim ipsa crescit et decrescit, sic omnes res inferiores habent suis modis crementum et decrementum. Et quia Luna est propinquior terre, ideo recipit virtutes omnium stellarum cum propria virtute, propter quod est tanquam uterus plenus fecunditate et fetibus, quibus terra impregnatur, id est, recipit virtutem et fetum ab ea, et producit res infinitas.

[8] id est, similiter.

[9] id est, ex colera. [10] id est, melancolia.

[11] *Ex igne facta*, est alkimisticus intellectus sub figurativis locucionibus que exponuntur hic breviter sicut omnia istius capituli, quia magna et longa exposicio traditur in libris alkimie, de quibus nullo modo posset tradi sciencia hic propter prolixitatem, nec decet propter secretorum magnitudinem.

[12] scilicet, per separacionem terre ab igne.

[13] Per distillaciones, scilicet, et sublimaciones usque ad summitatem vasorum et iterum colligitur in fundo eorum, quia sepius fiunt sublimaciones et distillaciones earum rerum.

Et inde interficit[1] superiorem et inferiorem virtutem.

Sic ergo dominatur[2] inferioribus et superioribus | et tu 89 a.
dominaberis sursum et deorsum, tecum enim est lux luminum,[3] et propter hoc fugient a te omnes tenebre. Virtus superior vincit omnia.[4]

Alchemical change.

Omne enim rarum agit in omne densum. Et secundum disposicionem majoris mundi currit hec operacio, et propter hoc vocatur Hermogenes triplex in philosophia.[5]

---

[1] id est, operacio alkimiste interficit, id est, corrumpit et mutat qualitates rerum sensibiles inferiorem virtutem scilicet, rem supra quam operatur, que primo inferius est in vasis convenientibus et postea sublimatur et distillatur et sic fit superior, et sic interficitur, id est, corrumpitur et mutatur a qualitatibus vilioribus ad nobiliores.

[2] scilicet, hec sciencia vel operacio alkimie.

[3] scilicet, liber quem fecit ei qui vocatur *lux luminum*, in quo clarius exposuit hanc scienciam alkimie.

[4] id est, operacio artis virtuosa que superat et vincit omnia que hic fiunt.

[5] *Omne enim rarum agit in omne densum*, ut scilicet, hec medicina preparata quia rara est in fine et subtilis, agit in densum, scilicet, in metallum vile quod densum est ut fiat nobile, sicut cum plumbum fit aurum et cuprum argentum.

Accipe lapidem animalem, etc. (p. 114). Omnes auctores propter magnitudinem secretorum occultant scienciam alkimie per verba et opera methaphorica et figurativa, et hoc eis inspiravit Deus ut soli sapientissimi et optimi eam percipiant propter bonum reipublice procurandum. Lapis igitur sumitur primo methaphorice pro omni eo super quo incipit operacio alkimie. Et hoc potest esse res mineralis, ut sulphur et arsenicum, set melior est res vegetabilis ut fructus et partes arborum et herbarum, optime vero sunt res animales ut sanguis ovum et capilli, et maxime partes hominis, et inter illas sanguis, in quo ad oculum distinguntur quatuor humores, scilicet, fleuma, colera, sanguis, et melancolia. Alkimista igitur querit separare hos humores abinvicem et purgare quemlibet a quolibet. Et cum per difficilia opera fuerint redacta ad puras simplicitates suas, tunc commiscentur secreta proporcione et certissima, quibus additur argentum vivum postquam mortificatum fuerit et sublimatum pluries. Similiter calx sive pulvis metalli vilioris de quo fiet nobilius. Et similiter nobilioris. Et post hec incorporentur adinvicem donec fiant unum corpus. Et tunc proicitur in metallum vilius liquatum et fit nobilius. Set in omnibus hiis sunt opera difficilima et magnarum expensarum ad que opera soli sapientissimi et divites | possunt pervenire. Per hec expone 89 b.
capitulum hoc. Et coleram vocat ignem, quia dominatur in ea,

The preservation of the secrets of alchemy.

What is the philosophers stone?

In material it may be made from blood, broken up into its humours, and recombined with mercury.

It is a very difficult and expensive task.

At foot of f. 89a: 'alterans, introducens, determinans et figens.' *corr.*

R 89 b. *Capitulum secundum de mirabilibus lapidibus.*[1]

A stone which floats in storms.

ET de mirabilibus hujus mundi est lapis ille qui pugnat cum aquis et ventis: vides enim assurgere super aquas quando currunt aque cum ventis, et nascitur in mari Mediterraneo. Cujus proprietas est hec; si arriperis hunc lapidem et posueris ipsum in alio lapide, et tecum portaveris, non est possibile quod aliquis excercitus possit durare contra te vel tibi resistere, set fugiet precipitanter coram te.

No enemy can stand against its bearer.

Two other stones, red and white, found in salt marshes: the white floats after sunset; the red floats in daytime.

Sunt et duo alii lapides preciosi mirabilis virtutis qui inveniuntur in locis tenebrosis, quorum unus est albus et alter est rubeus, et reperiuntur in aquis salinaticis[1]. Eorum operaciones sunt hee; albus incipit apparere super aquas in occasu solis et permanet in superficie aquarum usque ad medietatem noctis et tunc incipit descendere deorsum, et in ortu solis proveniet ad profundum: | lapis vero rubeus contrarium operatur, quia incipit apparere in ortu solis usque ad meridianam horam, et incipit occidere usque ad occasum solis. Horum lapidum proprietates sunt hee: si suspenderis de lapide rubeo unum pondus denarii in uno equo tui excercitus, equi excercitus tui non cessabunt hinnire donec auferas ipsum lapidem. Et operacio lapidis albi est per contrarium quod nunquam hinnient donec eum tollas. Valent ergo multum ad insidias excercendas et ad opus excercitus. Proprietas istorum lapidum est hec: si duo litigaverint adinvicem, ponatur albus lapis in ore alterius; si ei pertineat justicia, loquetur incontinenti; alioquin obmutescit quamdiu fuerit in ore ejus. Lapis vero rubeus per contrarium operatur.

90 a.

The red stone makes all horses neigh; the white stone keeps them silent.

The stone in the mouth of a litigant shows the justice of his cause.

The subject of the following treatise.

Et ego determinabo tibi proprietates et virtutes lapidum et incantamentorum et de quibusdam plantis in sequenti tractatu.

Explanation of the four humours.

et humorem aereum qui est in loco sanguinis in rebus inanimatis vocat aerem, et flegma in quo dominatur aqua sive habundat vocat aquam, et melancoliam in qua dominatur terra vocat terram; et hoc figurative secundum proprietatem hujus sciencie.

[1] id est, salsis vel marinis.

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1 Chapter lxxxii. *V.*

Capitulum .3. de generali cognicione sive universali plantarum mirabilium.

TU plene novisti ex precedentibus tractatibus meis in quibus trac|tavi tibi de naturalibus et secretis nature, quod gradus et disposicio plantarum est post gradum et disposicionem mineralium, secundum essenciam. Et quod quelibet planta recipit formam propriam secundum suam originem et naturam a superioribus naturis[1] vincentem et dominantem in ea. Et vincens in plantis est aquea natura, et in mineralibus lapidibus est terrea natura. Recipit ergo natura plantarum extensionem sicut idem recipit aquam per motum et impulsionem ventorum in suo loco. Et sicut aqua est diversarum figurarum, quia in eo sunt multe figure, sic accidit in plantis, quia omnes figure reperiuntur in plantis. Est itaque vincens in plantis aqua, et non extenditur nisi per diffusionem. Et operator dissolucionis aquarum est perpetuus, incessanter operans in suo celo, Mercurius scilicet; quoniam universaliter verum est quod unusquisque planeta regit et disponit et convenit et assimilat quedam sue nature. Verbi gracia, Saturnus tenet terram, Mercurius aquam, Jupiter aerem, Sol ignem. Et non reperitur hec | convenienciа[2] in planetarum operibus mutabilibus, set in operacionibus quas semper habent continuas et perpetuas per virtutem superiorem universalem,[3] que est super omnes virtutes, istarum operacionum. Et hic non est locus ad demonstrandum de hiis arduis, set ideo feci mencionem quia necessarium et nimis utile est tibi propter sequentem tractatum in quo determinabimus de singularibus et individuis quarundam vegetabilium plantarum. Cognicio igitur pro-

90 b.

The disposition of plants.

Plants watery in nature. Stones earthy.

The figures of plants are diverse.

Mercury is the planet of water.

The planets of the elements.

91 a.

The correspondence of elements and planets.

[1] id est, a celestibus.

[2] scilicet, rerum inferiorum ad eos.

[3] scilicet, per virtutem Dei et angelorum et per naturam universalem.

1 Chapter lxxxiii. *V.*

Philosophers and physicians.

prietatum istarum rerum spectat ad philosophos, cognicio vero operacionum naturalium spectat ad medicos.[1]

Plants governed by Saturn, by Mercury, by Mars, by the Sun.

Et nolo tuam clemenciam latere (vel prudenciam), quia omne carens lumine de numero vegetabilium a Saturno regitur et ei attribuitur. Et quicquid vegetabilium est floridum luminosum a Mercurio regitur et ei attribuitur. Et quicquid vegetabilium est floridum non ferens fructum, Marti attribuitur et per ipsum regitur. Omne enim vegetabile floridum et fructuosum Soli attribuitur et per ipsum

91 b. regitur. Deinde compone et junge | has divisiones, et dicas omne vegetabile ferens fructum non florens, sicut est palma, attribuitur Saturno et Soli. Et omne floridum non ferens fructum causatur a Mercurio et a Marte.

Two or more planets govern a plant.

How plants are propagated.

Item quedam vegetabilia sunt per ramos[2], quedam per semina, quedam nascuntur sine semine et sine plantacione.

Each kind of plant has its own disposition from its planet, and its properties are enhanced by those of the planet.

Patet ergo luce clarius ex predictis quod quelibet species vegetabilium habet disposicionem propriam que[3] complexionatur, et imitatur virtutem unius planete, et ei assimilatur et attribuitur, et habet aliam proprietatem que[3] associatur et attribuitur virtute duorum planetarum[4] vel plurium, secundum quod potest suscipere. Et juvat unamquamque proprietatem ejus quod ei attribuitur, scilicet, illa virtus naturalis planete,[5] scilicet, que[6] disponit suam speciem in colore et sapore et odore et figura. Et anima racionalis omnes istas proprietates et virtutes colligit,[7] quoniam

92 a. occurrunt ei et inmutantur per eam[8]; | et facit eas durare per tantum temporis quantum sibi diffiniunt et designant ex sua virtute, quia non est actus sine motu et non est operacio sine Deo[9] nec sine termino.

The *anima racionalis* co-ordinates them.

The properties

Et sic invenies quamdam speciem vegetabilium nocivam,

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[1] propter corpora humana.

[2] scilicet, plantatos. [3] qua. [4] sicut exemplificatum est.

[5] scilicet, planete sicut exemplificatum est.

[6] que virtus, scilicet, planete.

[7] per suam industriam.

[8] scilicet, per studium et experienciam, ut patet in confeccione medicinarum.

[9] qui dat scienciam anime omnem.

et quamdam speciem sanativam. Et quedam species generat leticiam, et quedam gaudium, et quedam facit amorem, et quedam odium. Quedam ferentibus ipsam tribuit reverenciam et honorem, et quedam abjeccionem tribuit et contemptum. Et quedam facit videre falsa sompnia, quedam verissimam visionem. Quedam generat probitatem et fortitudinem, et quedam pigriciam et debilitatem. Quedam sanant corpora et servant a venenis mortiferis, quedam corrumpit corpora et infert mortem. Et ego faciam tibi mencionem de hiis speciebus cum argumentis et probacionibus manifestis.[1]

of plants are diverse and strange.

Capitulum .4. de plantis in speciali mirabilibus, scilicet, de qualitate et proprietate quarundam plantarum et virtute. 92 b.

ILla quippe species vegetabilium que generat reverenciam et honorem est quedam arbor habens folia convoluta, forma vero est rotunda, et fructus ejus similis[2]. Virge ipsius arboris sunt humide et odor suavissimus. Qui igitur evellit ipsam in nomine suo[3] et portat secum, pro certo adquirit sibi reverenciam et honorem.

The plant which brings reverence and honour to its wearer.

Est et alia arbor que surgit in longitudine unius brachii habens folia longa, humida, habencia in se lineas albas. Qui vero portaverit de substancia illius arboris exaltabitur.

A plant which exalts the bearer.

Est et alia arbor habens folia sua jungencia et ejus

Another brings

[1] De ista doctrina Aristotilis sciendum est hic, quod sicut dictum est in principio libri vel a principio libri, quod virtutes celorum et stellarum non cogunt liberum arbitrium set mutant complexiones corporum, ad quarum mutacionem excitatur mens, ut sine coaccione velit gratis illud ad quod excitatur; sic est hic de virtutibus lapidum et vegetabilium, quod mutant et alterant complexiones, et complexiones altera|te alterant animos ad varios effectus et opera sine coaccione voluntatis, sicut homo per species et virtutes rerum presencium excitatur ad varios affectus, ut per species amicorum et sociorum excitatur ad multa, et per res speciosas ut mulieres, et per cibos et potus presentes, et per inimicos et per medicinalia bona et mala excitatur ad multa.

As with free will and the stars, so with the sympathetic properties of stones and plants. 92 b.

[2] scilicet, folio. [3] id est, pro se ipso.

12 Chapter lxxxiv. *V.*

32 virtutes] virtututes MS.

valour and success in strife. palmites exceduntur super terram, cujus odor bonus. Qui istam portaverit erit levis, probus, letus, et audax: cum isto vero bonum est pugnare vel litigare, quoniam suus adversarius subcumbit, et ipse in suis operibus triumphabit.

Et de speciebus arborum est quedam species que habet |
93 a. cuspides et plantatur et habet folia oblonga, et amittit folia sua antequam ferat flores, et habet tres flores oblongos, rubeos, suavis odoris. Qui ipsos flores comedit, accidit ei risus atque gaudium. *Another makes any woman thought of to burn for love of the bearer.* Qui vero evellit eam cum cuspide et foliis, et suggit florem cogitando de aliqua persona feminea, facit eam succendi in amorem ejus.

A Chinese plant which makes a man obedient and faithful.

Est et alia arbor que vocatur androsmon que nascitur in terra Sin, et est complexa habens folia sicca et parva nimis, et semina nimis parva, rotunda, intrinsecus alba. Si tu ergo sumpseris septem grana de seminibus in nomine alicujus persone, et triveris ea in nomine ipsius in ortu Luciferi et Veneris, ita ut radiis ipsorum tangant ipsa, si dederis ei bibere, scilicet, illa septem grana trita, aut comedere, permanebit timor tuus et amor in corde suo et semper obediet tibi toto tempore vite sue.

Another causes languor.

Et de speciebus plantarum est quedam planta que generat langorem, cujus cuspis plantatur, cujus palmites extenduntur
93 b. per unum bra|chium, cujus flores sunt albi precedentes folia, non ferens fructum. Proprietas ipsius est Martis et Mercurii; ejus natura est ignea et aerea. Qui portat hanc herbam secum nunquam illo tempore erit sine langore donec reiciat ipsam.

Another cures catarrh and melancholy, &c.

Est eciam de genere plantarum quedam herba sanativa, cujus semina seminantur, cujus racemi sunt quadrati, cujus folia sunt rotunda, cujus flores sunt celestis coloris, cujus semina sunt rubea, cujus odor suavis, boni effectus. Qui biberit ex ea vel odoraverit ejus odorem sanabitur de cattarro vel de melancolia et de sollicitudine et de timore et de frenesi et frigore, et de multis aliis infirmitatibus.

A plant which causes hate.

Est[1] (eciam alia planta que dicitur fertilidon, cujus proprietas est generare odium et contemptum.)

---

[1] aliter, hec generat odium (*in marg.*).

---

12 androsinon (*in marg.*) 34-5 *Omitted in* MS.

Et alia planta que dicitur macrafon, et hec est validissima ad amorem et reverenciam. A plant which causes love.

O Alexander, perfeci tibi quod promisi tibi recitare, et solvi plena solucione, esto ergo semper virtuosus triumphator, et Deus gloriosus te regat et dirigat et custodiat; cujus | bonitatem omnis percepit creatura. Be virtuous in your use of these secrets. 94 a.

Capitulum .5. de mirabilibus justicie et de bonis que nascuntur ex ipsa. **A**

JUsticia est commendacio (sive condicio) laudabilis de proprietatibus Altissimi simplicis et gloriosi. Unde et regnum debet esse ejus quem Deus elegit et constituit super servos suos, cui committenda sunt negocia et regimina subditorum, qui debet speculari et defendere possessiones et divicias ac sanguinem subditorum et omnia opera eorundem, sicut deus eorum. Ergo in hoc assimilandus est Deo, et ideo oportet regem assimilari et imitari Altissimum in omnibus suis operibus. Deus vero sapiens est atque sciens, et ejus preconium [1] et ejus nomina gloriosa sunt in ipso, et magnitudo ejus dominii major est omnibus et supra comendacionem, ergo et sapiencia ejus est supra omnem comendacionem: contrarium ejus [2] injuria et ejus oppositum est injusticia. What Justice is. Justice is likened to God.

In justicia extiterunt celi creati et constituti sunt super terram: in justicia eciam missi fuerunt prophete sanctissimi. Justicia autem est forma intellectus quam creavit Deus gloriosus, et perduxit cre|aturam suam ad ipsum, et per justiciam edificata est terra et constituti sunt reges, et obediunt et domesticantur subditi; per ipsam domesticat terribile [3] et appropinquat remotum,[4] et salvantur anime et liberantur ab omni vicio, et erga reges suos ab omni corupcione. The heavens and earth are founded on justice. 94 b. The praise of Justice.

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[1] aliter, a. (preconia). [2] scilicet, Dei.

[3] scilicet, hostes et inimici.

[4] ut gentes remote a justis regibus et imperatoribus venerunt ad amiciciam eorum et subjeccionem propter justiciam eorum sicut historie docent.

---

7 Book III, Chapter lxxxv. *V.*

A king's justice is better than good weather.

Et propter hoc dixerunt Indi, Justicia regnantis utilior est subditis quam fertilitas temporis. Et adhuc dixerunt: dominator justus melior est quam plurima fortuna. Inventum eciam est (scriptum vel) sculptum in uno lapide, lingua Caldea: Rex et intellectus sunt fratres alter altero indigens, nec sufficit unus sine reliquo. Et omnes res in universo creantur a justicia, et ipsa est causa [1] intellectus qui ponit ejus esse et (essenciam vel) operacionem. Ipsa [2] est actus ejus. Ipse [3] est judex justus, ergo et essencia justicie et radix ejus ab intellectu, et ipse [4] est operans et deducens eam
95 a. ad hoc ut sit, ipsa [5] est ejus potencia et operacio, | ipsa est ejus intencio et ipsa [6] est speculacio sciencie [7]. Ipse, id est, finis intellectus est judex operans et recipiens id quod pervenit ex actu [8], et in eo quod [9] recipit est ipsa justicia.[10]

The saying of the Chaldees.

Understanding is the final cause of a king's deeds.

Justice and understanding.

Justice, open or hidden.

Apparet autem quod justicia est duplex, manifesta et occulta. Manifesta, quando manifestatur ex actu operante justa opera; in condicionibus justicia est recta ponderata et mensurata per ipsum intellectum,[11] et judicium ex ipsa sortitur nomen. Occulta, vero, est fidelis credulitas judicis operantis opera sua [12] et certitudo ac conformacio suorum dictorum.

A king in his justice likened to the Most High.

Apparet ergo, ut prediximus, quod rex assimilatur in justicia simplici Altissimo, et propter hoc convenit ei ut sit firmus et summus in omnibus operibus suis, propriis et communibus. Qui ergo declinat a propria vel communi justicia, non est justicia Dei in eo; set ille justiciam Dei

[1] scilicet, finalis quia intellectus operatur propter justiciam, et justicia dei est causa efficiens, quia justicia dei fecit intellectum et omnia.
[2] scilicet, justicia.
[3] scilicet, Intellectus.
[4] intellectus.
[5] scilicet, justicia.
[6] justicia, scilicet.
[7] scilicet, sue: hoc est intellectus quia hanc speculatur.
[8] suo justo.
[9] scilicet, intellectus.
[10] scilicet, ex actu justo: est quodammodo, scilicet. Hoc dicit propter nimiam convenienciam et conformitatem justicie ad intellectum justum, ut non solum dicatus justus set quasi ipsa justicia.
[11] et patet cuilibet.
[12] id est, quando fideliter credit operari et dicere justa judicia licet non appareat hominibus.

3 plurima fortuna] pluvia serotina *V*　　20 conformacio] confirmacio *V*

habet[1] qui considerat quid possit[2] justicia Altissimi, et quod voluntas ejus sit in hiis que vult Altissimus. Et qui credit totaliter in hoc, quia per ejus fidem consequitur legem que est perfeccio dominii. | Et prout apparebit justicia in 95 b.
operibus suis, complectitur corda subditorum, qui prout apparebunt opera sua, sic fient et sencie(n)t opera[3] subditorum de ipso, et judicabunt subditi de ipso.

Justice is relative.

Et proprietas justicie et communitas sunt in diversis gradibus, et transgressiones justicie inde differunt. Et justicia est nomen relatum[4] ad aliquid dictum, et justicia est correccio injurie et rectitudo statere et fortitudo status rerum et forma mensure, et est collectivum[5] nomen spectans ad curialitatem et ad modos largitatis et ad operacionem bonitatis. Et justicia dividitur in divisiones, quia est justicia que spectat ad judicium apud judices, et est justicia pertinens ad hominem in raciocinio[6] sui ipsius, et in hiis que sunt inter se et Creatorem suum. Statue ergo justiciam in hiis que sunt inter te et populos, scilicet, commensuraciones morum et federa signata ac firmata per justiciam. Et ego exem|plificabo tibi formam laudabilem sapienciam philoso- 96 a.
phicam valde caram, que monstrabit tibi quicquid est in hominibus universaliter, que complectitur regnum subditorum et demonstrat gradus eorum, et qualitates et radices ejus, quod oportet habere de justicia in quolibet gradu.

The justice of judges.

The justice of all men.

A likeness of Justice.

Dividitur ergo in duas divisiones circulares[7] spericas, et in ea que continentur cum eis, et quelibet divisio est unus gradus. Incipe ergo a quavis divisione et dabit tibi illud

The likeness divided into two circles,

[1] in eo. [2] poscit. [3] erga ipsum.

[4] quia refertur ad multa, ut ad Deum et proximum et seipsum regendum, et ad judicia et causas judicandas ut subjungit.

[5] quia justicia colligit multa ut subjungit.

[6] id est, in racionali regimine secundum apostolum; 'racionabile obsequium vestrum' [Rom. xii. 1].

[7] *dividitur ergo in duas divisiones circulares, etc.*, scilicet, celestes 96 b.
et elementares que sunt, circulares et sperice partes mundi que a Deo create sunt ordinata justicia naturali. Et alia pars justicie est in rebus contentis in eis et precipue inter homines, et prosequitur de utraque parte justicie, scilicet, naturali et legali sive

Natural and civil justice.

1 possit *corrected to* poscit

quo nichil est preciosius, videlicet, circulum firmamenti cum aliis circulis celestibus et angelicis spiritibus qui sunt in celis. Et quando[1] fuerunt ordinaciones sive regimina tam in inferioribus quam in superioribus ad conservanciam hujus mundi, visum est mihi debere incipere tali modo in mundo, et hec est utilitas hujus libri et hec est ejus figura.[2]

like those of the firmament.

A

De creacione primordialis materie.

Mundus est ortus seu viridarium, ejus materia (vel substancia vel sepes ejus) est judicium (scilicet Dei angelorum et
96 b. hominum): Judicium est dominator | vallatus (vel dominacio vallata) lege: Lex est qua rex regit regnum: Et rex est pastor qui defenditur a proceribus: Proceres sunt stipendiarii sustentati pecunia: Pecunia vero est fortuna que colligitur a subditis: Subditi autem sunt servi quos subjecit justicia: Justicia vero est que intenditur per se, in qua est salus subditorum.

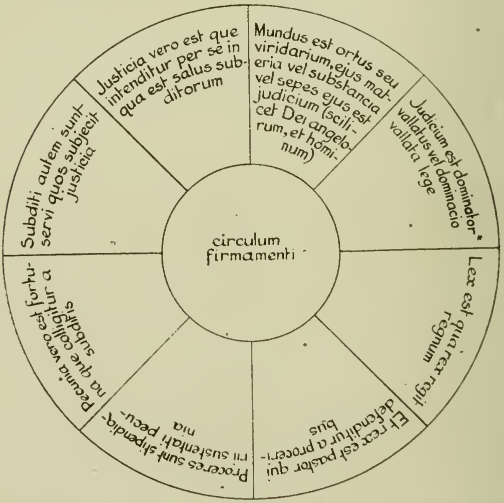
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morali et civili. Naturalis justicia refertur ad creacionem mundi et partium ejus. Civilis justicia refertur ad judicium Dei et angelorum de hominibus et ad justiciam hominum inter se.

---

[1] aliter, cum.

[2]



This figure does not appear in any Latin MS. but is found in the Arabic and Hebrew.

Capitulum sextum de creatis, in quibus attenditur justicia naturalis et quot sunt celi. B

SCias quod illud primum quod creavit Altissimus gloriosus est simplex spiritualis substancia[1] in fine perfeccionis et complementi bonitatis, in qua sunt forme rerum omnium, et vocatur intelligencia;[2] et deinde ex alia substancia[3] exivit[4] alia substancia minor gradu suo | que vocatur universaliter anima.

The Most High first created intelligences, then the *anima universalis*, 97 a.

Et alia substancia est que vocatur hyle[5] (aliter, et progressa fuit ex illa anima alia substancia que vocatur hyle),

then the *hyle*,

---

[1] *Simplex substancia etc.*, cum velit hic quod substancia angelica sit simplex, intelligendum est quod dicitur simplex per privacionem materie corporalis et per privacionem quantitatis: est tamen vere composita ex materia et forma spiritualibus, et sic anima, secundum quod vult secundo *Methaphisice* quia substancie incorporee habent materiam.

[2] quam Christiani dicunt angelum. *Forme rerum omnium*, scilicet, creatarum, quas philosophi et theologi vocant non solum formas set species et similitudines rerum, quia angeli per illas species cognoscunt sicut anima racionalis recipit species et similitudines rerum. Angels.

[3] id est, ex alia materia spirituali et alia forma secundum speciem, etc.

[4] scilicet, per creacionem a Deo factam.

[5] Hyle est materia corporalis omnium rerum corporalium et est ante commensuracionem quantitatis, ante, scilicet, in ordine nature non temporis, vel ante commensuracionem quantitatis determinate alicujus corporis specialis, ut ante celum et elementa quatuor et mixta. Ante tamen, per ordinem nature non temporis, quia hec materia est res hujus generis, substancia corporea, que tamen creata fuit a principio mundi in celo et elementis et mixtis, quia res generis non potest esse per se set semper sub altera specierum suarum vel sub utroque, et hoc est corpus simpliciter ut dicit hic, id est, corpus in communi et universale ad omnia corpora, ut celum et generabilia et corruptibilia, scilicet, ad elementa et mixta. Et huic sentencie concordat Averoys dicens quod

Materia corporalis. *Corpus simpliciter.*

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1 Chapter lxxxvi. *V.*

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9 The second of these readings is that usually found. It is added in the margin.

ante commensuracionem, que extenditur in longitudinem et latitudinem et profunditatem, in quo factum est corpus simpliciter.

then the place of the spheres.

Deinde corpus habens figuram nobilissimam que superat omnes figuras et est verior comparative et antiquior et remansit in loco uno sperarum et planetarum id quod fuit purius ex eo et quod fuit simplicius.

The sphere of the Moon. Ten heavens

Prior ergo sperarum est spera circumdans usque ad terminum spere Lune. Et sunt decem celi, unum intra aliud infra se invicem. Prima ergo et superior sperarum | 97 b. est spera circumdans[1]: deinde infra ipsam spera siderum. Post quam est spera Saturni, et sic usque ad speram Lune,

from the outer sphere to that of the elements.

---

materia habet dimensiones interminatas, quia corpus in universale habet dimensiones ante in ordine nature quam celum et elementa et mixta, que habent dimensiones determinatas per suas naturas specificas, etc.

The ninth sphere.

[1] *Spera circumdans*, scilicet omnia, scilicet celum nonum, et est celum aqueum et empireum, ut intelligamus hos duos celos hic ab Aristotile comprehendi sub spera continente, quia primo *Methaphisice* facit mencionem de celo decimo quod est empireum, circumdans, scilicet, omnia visibilia: et hec habet duas speras, scilicet, celum empireum et celum aqueum. Hii duo celi sunt invisibiles mortalibus et circumdant .8. celos inferiores et .4. speras elementorum, unde quatuordecim sunt spere mundi. De istis autem decem celis non solum theologi set philosophi loquntur, ut antiquissimus Pictagoras et Aristotiles in secundo *Methaphisice*, in translacione Boecij, et Messalama astronomus in libro *De causis orbis*, et commentator Ptolomei super *Almagesti*. Novem enim celos ponunt philosophi, et quod nonum sit aqueum ignoraverunt, set pauci philosophi posuerunt decimum nec nominaverunt ipsum nomine speciali, quod est empireum: illi tamen quos nominavi posuerunt decimum. De hiis speris celorum et elementorum reperitur exposicio superius ante librum hunc, et similiter figuracio.

Are there nine or ten spheres?

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8 Chapter lxxxvii. *V.*

---

9 decem] novem *V.*

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16 *Footnote in MS.*: 'Substancia corporea, est primum subjectum generacionis et corrupcionis, et cum res reducitur ad illud tunc vocatur materia prima rerum generabilium et corruptibilium, quia res illius generis est in potencia ad omnia generabilia et corruptibilia.'

scilicet, post quam est spera Jovis, et post spera Martis, et post spera Solis, et post spera Veneris, et post spera Mercurii, et post spera Lune, infra quam est spera elementorum que sunt ignis, aer, aqua, terra. Ergo terra est in medio elementorum omnium, et est densior substancia inter corpora et spissior essencialiter.

The earth is in the midst.

Et postquam ordinate fuerunt hec spere, quedam in quibusdam in se ipsis, sicut dictum est, juxta sapienciam et disposicionem simplicis Gloriosissimi in disposicione mirabili et pulcritudine ordinatissima, mote sunt spere circulariter | in suis partibus, et planetis super elementa .4. et viciscitudinaliter super ea, et facta sunt nox et dies, et hyemps et estas, et estus et frigus, et commixta[1] sunt quedam in quibusdam, et contemperatum est rarum cum denso,[2] et quod in eis erat ponderosum cum eo quod est leve, et calidum cum frigido, et humidum cum sicco. Et tunc composite sunt ex eis ex longitudine temporum universe species compositorum corporum et contemp⟨er⟩ate, que sunt originalia sive minere[3], et vegetabilia, et animalia.

The spheres move in circles,

98 a.

making times and seasons, and are tempered.

From them aris all compound bodies.

Sunt ergo originalia quecunque congelantur in visceribus terre, et in profundis marium, et in concavitatibus moncium, et tumorositatibus[4] inclusis, et ex vaporibus ascendentibus, et ex humiditatibus congelatis in concavitatibus cavernarum, in quibus aqueitas et terrestritas magis dominatur,[5] sicut aurum, argentum, es, ferrum, plumbum, et stagnum, lapides margarite, corallus, vitreolum, alumen et hujusmodi similia, que | videntur et cognoscuntur. Animal vero est omne genus quod movetur et sentit et transit de loco in locum per seipsum, et aeritas in ipso magis dominatur. Vege-

Originals (fossils); where found,

and how produced.

98 b.

Animals and vegetables.

---

[1] sicut locata in locantibus quia superiora continent inferiora.

[2] scilicet, in spera mundi.

[3] minere dicuntur originalia quia prima oriuntur et fiunt ex elementis, postea vegetabilia, postea animalia.

[4] vel, ex fumositatibus.

[5] quia in metallis dominatur aqua et in omnibus liquabilibus, set in aliis dominatur terra sicut docet libro *Metheororum*.

tabilis[1] vero composicio nobilior est originali[2]: animal vero nobilius est in composicione quam sit vegetabile[3].

Man the most noble.

Homo vero nobilior est in composicione universorum animalium et igneitas in eo magis dominatur, et convenierunt in ejus composicione omnia universe res que pariuntur et inveniuntur in entibus simplicibus et compositis, quia homo est ex corpore denso commensurato et ex anima que est simplex substancia spiritualis.

Capitulum .7. quod anima propria cujuslibet primo debet sciri a quolibet, et de divisione virtutum anime et de regiminibus et statibus anime in hac vita et futura.

Obtain a knowledge of your own soul.

TE vero oportet si tu es sciens supra sciencias et veritates encium et existencium, quod tu incipias inprimis a cognicione tue anime que propinquior est tibi ceteris aliis, deinde post hanc habere scienciam ceterorum.

The soul has three strengths:

Scias ergo quod anima universalis est vis spiritualis orta post intelligenciam[4] voluntate divina, et habet tres vires currentes in corporibus sicut lumen solis in partibus aeris, |
99 a. una virium est intellectiva, secunda est sensitiva, tercia est vegetativa, quam[5] illustravit gloriosus Deus septem viribus, que sunt [1] attractiva, [2] retentiva, [3] digestiva, [4] expulsi⟨v⟩a, [5] nutritiva, [6] generativa, [7] informativa. Operacio ergo hujus vis generative in comparacione[6] corporis humani est in recepcione spermatis in vulva, et in ejus disposicione durat per septem[7] menses, et postquam perfecerit hoc tempus quod premensuratum est ab altissimo Deo glorioso et sublimi, tunc transmittit

intellective, sensitive, and vegetative. Of this there are seven forces.

The vegetative virtue lasts seven months after conception,

when the child

[1] scilicet, rei. [2] id est, minerali.

[3] Vegetabilia sunt arbores et herbà et omnia que nutriuntur et crescunt in terra et ex terra.

[4] id est, angeli. [5] scilicet, vegetativam.

[6] seu preparacione et informacione, et ideo comprehendit hic virtutem informativam cum generativa.

[7] scilicet ad minus, plures tamen nascuntur in nono mense et pauci in septimo et sunt debiles.

9 Chapter lxxxviii. *V.*

8 *Footnote in MS.*: 'Nota bene illud capitulum de cognicione anime pre omnibus, et non recedat a corde quod in fine capituli dicit philosophus.'

ipsam animam[1] animalis sensibilis de illo loco[2] usque ad egressionem ad habitaculum, scilicet, hominum, et adquirit aliud regimen[3] usque ad complementum .4. annorum.[4] Deinde reddit ipsum puerum virtuti racionabili, que inmutat[5] nomen vel naturam sensibilium, et tunc adquirit aliud regimen usque ad complementum .14. annos, quia in .15mo. anno potest generare. Et tunc adest vis intellectiva denunciativa figurarum seu similitudinum, et interpretaciones sensibilium, et adquirit aliud regimen usque ad comple|mentum .30. annorum.[6] Tunc advenit vis judicialis, seu philosophica que speculatur formas intellectuales, et tunc adquirit aliud regimen usque ad complementum .50. annorum. Tunc accidit vel adest ei virtus regitiva voluntaria, et tunc habet aliud regimen usque ad complementum .70. annorum. Tunc venit virtus legalis plantativa originalium,[7] et adquirit inde aliud regimen usque ad finem vite.[8]

receives the *anima sensibilis.*

At 4 he receives reason;

at 15 he gets the *vis intellectiva*;

99 b.

at 30 he gets judgement;

at 50 the power of self-governance;

at 70 of law-making.

Si ergo anima sit perfecta et completa ante separacionem ejus a corpore, perficietur a virtute[9] universali, que[10] sublimatur per ipsam[11] et deducitur usque ad supernam per-

If the soul is made perfect before death, it passes to the firmament of the intelligences;

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[1] cum corpore suo.

[2] scilicet, de utero.

[3] id est, in hoc mundo in terra, scilicet, in quo habet aliud regimen quam in utero.

[4] .4. *annorum* quia ante non habuit usum racionis, quia beatus Gregorius in *dialogo* docet quod puer .5. annorum fuit raptus a demone propter blasphemias.

[5] *que inmutat*, quia virtus racionalis dat nomina sensibilibus rebus: post .4. annos puer vocat res nominibus suis.

[6] quia tunc plena fortitudine mentis et corporis viget homo secundum sapienciam sacram, et beatum Hieronimum et alios; et ipsa philosophia et experiencia propria certificat.

[7] id est, constitutiva legum. *originalium*, id est, legum a quibus successores sumunt originem suarum legum quas ipsi addunt.

[8] Nota quod distinccio jam facta etatum sive parcium vite colligitur principaliter ex Sacra Scriptura et doctrina scienciarum et similiter ex philosophia, set nimis longum esset auctoritatibus et racionibus explicare. Etas vero ultima est conditiva legum propter perfeccionem sapiencie que in illa viget, saltem in prima parte ejus.

This classification has the authority of Scripture.

[9] id est, cum virtute.

[10] scilicet, anima.

[11] scilicet, virtutem universalem.

feccionem, et tunc adquirit aliud regimen donec perveniat ad circulum seu firmamentum intelligencie[1] cui bene complacuit.

if not, it sinks to hell.

100 a. Si vero non,[2] anima dilabitur | usque ad abyssum inferiorum: deinde recipit eam regimen sine spe placendi Deo.

C

Capitulum .8. *de* .5. *sensibus corporis servientibus intellectui, sive de homine et ejus* .5. *sensibus quasi de rege et ejus* .5. *bajulis vel consiliariis.*

When God made man He gave him laws as to a state, and made understanding its ruler, and gave five chamberlains to assist in ruling.

QUando ergo creavit Deus altissimus hominem et fecit eum nobilissimum animalium, ei precepit,[3] prohibuit,[4] punit,[5] remunerat[6] eum, et constituit corpus suum civitatem quandam, et ejus intellectum regem in ipsa, et collocavit eum in nobiliori loco ipsius hominis et superiori, quod est capud. Constituit ei .5. bajulos[7] regentes ipsum, presentantes ei quecunque sibi sunt necessaria et ea quibus juvatur, custodientes nichilominus ipsum ab omni eo quod est ei nocibile. Et non habet existenciam nec perfeccionem nisi per ipsos, et constituit cuilibet istorum .5. bajulorum seu sensuum suum judicium proprium quo differt et separatur ab aliis compaginibus, et habent modum communem quo communicat aliquis cum aliis. Et generatur ex colleccione et conveniencia judiciorum essencia et perfeccio suorum operum.

Each of them has a distinct office and a common means of communication.

These chamberlains are the five senses.

Ergo .5. bajuli predicti sunt .5. sensus qui sunt in oculo, 100 b. in aure, in naso, in | lingua, in manu.

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[1] scilicet, sui angeli. Intelligencia hic vocatur substancia spiritualis angelica et divina, vel si solum intelligatur, intelligatur angelica et suplendum est quod per eam ducetur ad Deum.
[2] dum perfecta fuerit anima.
[3] id est, dedit precepta que sunt decem mandata.
[4] peccata.
[5] pro peccatis.
[6] pro virtute.
[7] scilicet, quinque sensus.

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6 Book IV, Chapter lxxxix. *V.* 23 Chapter xc. *V.*

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9 *Foot-note in M.S. in same hand as text*: 'Hoc dicit quantum ad evidenciam operacionum, quia infradicta membra sunt radicalia organa et instrumenta sensuum, ut patet per eum alibi et per Avicennam melius, primo libro *de Anima*.'

The twenty-two species of the sense of sight.

Sensata[1] ergo oculi sunt visibilia que sunt .22. species, que sunt lux et tenebre, color, remocio, situs et propinquitas, corporeitas, figura, magnitudo, continuacio, discrecio vel separacio, numerus, motus, quies, asperitas, levitas, diaphoneitas, spissitudo, umbra, obscuritas, pulcritudo, turpitudo, similitudo et diversitas. Multa tamen collocantur[2] et comprehenduntur[3] sub hiis.

Two kinds of sounds, animal and non-animal. *Two of animal, rational and irrational.*

Sensata vero auris sunt auditus sonorum, et sunt due species soni, scilicet, animalis sonus et non animalis. Sonus vero animalis est duplex, scilicet, racionalis et irracionalis. Racionalis pertinens ad loquelam humanam, irracionalis sonus sunt hinitus equi, garritus avis, et hiis similia.

Non-animal sounds. *The passage of sound through the air.*

Sonus vero non animalis, ut fragor arborum et collisio lapidum et hiis similia quibus non inest vita, sicut tonitruum, timpanum, fistula. Scias eciam quod quelibet vox in ordine suo universo, quando movetur aer deferens ipsam, movetur cum ipso ipsa spiritualitas[4] nobilis, ita ut non commisceatur pars cum parte[5] donec perveniant usque ad ultimum apud sensum scilicet, auditum, | tunc enim defertur per ipsum ad virtutem ymaginativam. 101 a.

The nine species of the sense of taste.

Sensatum vero lingue fit per viam gustus, et saporis .9. sunt species, scilicet, dulcedo, amaritudo, salsedo et unctuositas, acetositas, insipiditas, ponticitas, stipticitas, et acuitas.

The sense of touch, its seat.

Et sensus qui est in manum est in vi tactiva seu palpativa, et cursus ejus in calido et frigido,[6] aspero et leni, et in omnibus predictis de visu preter lucem et colorem. Et vis tactiva est insita et contenta inter duas pelles, quarum una

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[1] id est, que ab oculo senciuntur. [2] scilicet, alia.

[3] ut patet secundo Perspective (i.e. Alhazen).

[4] que vocatur ab eo et ab aliis species sive virtus multiplicata in sensum que est similitudo ipsius soni per quam auditus cognoscit sonum, et sic est de omni sensu.

[5] set continue ordinata multiplicacione sine confusione.

[6] humido et sicco.

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8 Chapter xci. *V.* 21 Chapter xcii. *V.* 24 Chapter xciii. *V.*

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1 This list corresponds with that of Alhazen, ii. 15. *See Op. Maj.* V, 1. 1. 3.

est in superficie corporis et alia manet in eo quod spectat ad carnem.

The sense of smell.

Man has the worst smell.

Sensatum naris[1] sive olfactus qui est quintus sensus est odor, cujus species secundum naturam sunt tot quot sunt saporis, set quia homo inter omnia animalia habet pejorem odorem, ideo non distinguit discrete species odoris omnes set extremos quia maxime differunt, ut odor suavis et fetidus sive horribilis.

Light skins run from the root of the brain,

through which the sensations reach the imaginative virtue,

and pass to the cogitative virtue in the midst of the brain.

Quando ergo adquisitus est quilibet istorum sensuum quos Deus contulit huic regi, scilicet intellectui, oriuntur ex radice cerebri pelles subtiles lenes, sicut tele aranearum, et
101 b. sunt quasi velamen | et cortina huic regi.[2] Quando ergo presentatur id quod habet quilibet sensus et provenit illud usque ad illas pelles que sunt in ipsa substancia cerebri, tunc congregantur vestigia sensatorum[3] apud virtutem ymaginativam, que representat ea virtuti cognitive que est in medio cerebri ut speculetur ea et colligat et studeat in earum figuris, et exemplis, et cognoscat in eis juvativa et nociva, et ut operetur juxta mensuram que provenit ei ex illis.

The excellence of the number five;

spheres,

kinds of animals,

parts of trees,

Constitucio ergo et existencia corporis existit in istis quinque sensibus prenominatis. Perfeccio ergo cujuslibet rei est in .5. rebus. Planete namque quorum moventur spere circulariter sunt .5. ut Saturnus, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercurius.[4] Et genera animalium sunt .5., scilicet homo, volatile, et aquaticum, et gressibile[5], et quod serpit supra ventrem. Et quinque sunt sine quibus non perficitur aliqua planta que nascitur ex terra nisi concurrant et conveniant in ea, et sunt stirpes et rami et folia et fructus et radices.

[1] narium. [2] scilicet, intellectui.

[3] id est, species et similitudines.

[4] quamvis enim large sumendo Sol et Luna dicuntur planete, tamen secundum Scripturam et philosophiam distinguntur ab aliis et vocantur luminaria.

[5] id est, quadrupes.

9 Chapter xciv. *V.* 21 Chapter xcv. *V.*

3 This paragraph is missing in most texts.

Et .5. sunt toni musicales | qui si non essent non perficeretur aliquis cantus et sonans. Et quinque sunt dies nobiles de universis diebus anni, in ultima parte Maii. Et quinque sunt porte maris.

musical tones, 102 a. best days in the year, ports of the sea.

Capitulum nonum de consiliariis regis et de modo consilii.

SInt ergo bajuli tui .5. et consiliarii tui quinque in comprehensione operum tuorum, et quilibet eorum sit separatus, quia tunc utilior est tuis operibus. Reserva ergo tuum secretum, et ne incipias eis dicere quod habes in corde, et non ostendas alicui eorum eleccionem consilii quod apud te est, et non indica eis quod velis ab eis mendicare[1] consilium quia tunc contempnerent te, nec eis consilium tuum indicas. Tempta ergo in anima tua eorum voluntates, sicut facit cerebrum[2] ex hiis quo proveniunt ei ex sensibus, et declina ab eorum consiliis in eo quod contrariantur voluntati tue.

Have then 5 chamberlains and 5 counsellors. Listen to their advice, weigh it, and do what you think best.

Et propter hoc dixit Hermes quando fuit interrogatus quare judicium ejus qui dat consilium melius est judicio querentis consilium, respondit: Quoniam judicium querentis querentis consilium exploratum est a voluntate.[3] Et hoc | verbum est verum. Quando ergo congregas eos pro aliquo consilio dando in tua presencia, non immisceas aliud consilium cum eis, audias ergo in quo conveniunt. Si ergo festinanter respondent et concordant cito, resiste eis tunc in hoc et ostende eis contrarium ut prolongetur eorum cogitacio et retardentur ad ultimum cogitantes sive in consilio[4] meditantes donec per multam meditacionem perveniant ad ultimum et finem consilii.

Hermes' advice on asking counsel. 102 b Do not let your council decide too hastily.

Quando ergo perceperis rectitudinem consilii in verbis eorum, vel in verbis alicujus eorum, fac eos conquiescere, et non manifestes eis vel ostendas in quo voluntas tua quiescat

Do not let them guess your decision.

[1] vel, vendicare. [2] id est, anima que est in cerebro.
[3] scilicet, querentis et examinatum et deliberatum.
[4] adunato.

5 Chapter xcvi. *V.*

13 Tempta] tempera *V* 17 melius] minus MS. 19 exploratum] ? expolitum

donec egrediatur in actum et experienciam. Et considera subtiliter et diligenter quis magis ducit ad rectitudinem consilii, et juxta mensuram amoris quam habet erga te et desiderium et in prosperitate tui regiminis recipias ejus consilium.

Do not make them jealous of one another by unequal rewards.

Et cave ne preponas alterum alteri set adequa[1] eos in donis et gradibus et in omnibus operibus suis. Quid ergo magis est causa destruccionis regni et operum regis in pro-

103 a. lixitate dierum ac temporum quam exhibere | majorem honorificenciam quibusdam bajulorum supra quosdam, set ipsi debent esse pares. Et quia non est inconveniens homini quando salubre habet consilium sectari illud et operari, ideo nichil sine consilio faciendum est.

Nothing should be done without advice.

Capitulum decimum de varietate complexionis et morum per constellacionem nativitatis, sive de varietate judicii et consilii et consulencium, et eorum eleccione per constellaciones in nativitatibus suis que confirmantur per pulcra exempla.

Judgement follows the body.

ET ego dico tibi quod judicium imitatur corpus; quando ergo debilitatur corpus debilitatur judicium.

Consider the nativities of your counsellors.

Et est consideranda genesis[2] in quibusdam, quia generatus sepe disponitur juxta naturam planetarum et vim que sunt in regione sue geneseos[3] sive generacionis. Et si forte contingat quod genitores genitum doceant aliquam arcium, natura superior[4] trahet (vel attrahet) eum multociens ad artem sideris sibi convenientem.

The tale of the weaver's son.

Nam simile huic accidit quibusdam hominibus qui convenerunt in quadam villa et hospitati fuerunt apud quendam

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[1] propter invidiam et discordiam, quia tunc machinantur cogitaciones pessimas.

The use of a nativity.

[2] sive nativitas, id est, tempus nativitatis illius qui debet eligi pro consiliario regis et hoc docet per exemplum mirabile in artibus et scienciis; et ita est de potestate consilii et prudencia consulendi, quia constellacio bona disponit bene complexionem, et complexio excitat animum ad amorem talis artis vel talis. Et sic est de potestate consilii.

[3] hec genesis, hujus geneseos secundum grecam declinacionem.

[4] vel, orum [superiorum].

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17 Chapter xcvii. *V.*

textorem cui natus est in illa nocte filius, cujus genesim hospites accepe|runt et ordinaverunt ejus planetas. Fuit ergo ejus genesis in Venere et Marte, gradu suo existente Geminis cum Libra,[1] sidera vero contraria et pessima nondum fuerunt orta. Ostendit ergo eis genesis quod puer erat futurus sapiens, curialis, velocis manus, boni et ydonei consilii, et diligendus a regibus. Occultaverunt ergo hoc, celantes a patre. Crevit ergo natus in prosperitate, et crediderunt ac nisi sunt genitores ejus instruere eum aliquam artem de operibus suis. Set ex toto nichil potuit ex hiis addiscere. Verberantes autem ipsum et flagellantes gravissime, exposuerunt ipsum voluntati sue. Inclinavit ergo se juvenis ad homines possidentes disciplinam et adquisivit sciencias et scivit cursus et tempora supercelestia et mores ac regimina regum, et ecce! factus est bajulus regis et dominator magnus potens valde.

103 b. — born under Venus and Mars, — and so to be wise and courtly, — who could not learn his craft, — but studied — and became a great counsellor.

Contrarium huic accidit ex mirabilibus operibus et disposicionibus planetarum et naturis eorum id quod evenit | in duobus natis regis Indie, facta comparacione ad genesim, set occultum fuit regi. Quando ergo crevit unus puerorum credidit rex eum instruere scienciis; misit ergo eum per Indiam et per alias provincias honorifice, sicut decuit filium tanti regis, set nichil profuit diligencia patris, quia non potuit inclinare animum suum et naturam, nisi ad artificium fabrile. Propter quod turbatus est rex valde convocavitque sapientes omnes sui regni, qui requisiti omnes conveniunt in hoc quod relinqueretur hiis ad que natura pueri reducebat eum. Factum est ergo ita, et multociens accidit huic simile sicut est satis cognitum.

104 a. — The King's sons of India. — One who could not learn, — but would be a smith.

Capitulum .11. *adhuc de leccione consulencium, et de variis articulis eorum et consiliorum, sive de consiliario eligendo et de consilio in omnibus agendo et perquirendo.*

O Alexander, noli contempnere parvam staturam in hominibus, et quem videris diligere scienciam et

Despise not wise men of small stature.

[1] quia Venus fuit in Geminis, Mars in Libra.

30 Chapter xcviii. *V*.

habundare in via sapiencie et morum et declinare ac fugere semitam viciorum: talem ergo dilige et habeas juxta te, et precipue tunc quando videris ipsum excercitantem animum suum in hiis virtutibus. Talis enim consuevit esse bone eloquencie, et bene morigeratus, curialis et sciens historias
104 b. eorum qui nos precesserunt | de gentibus. Non preponas ergo aliquid faciendum vel postponas absque ejus consilio. Dilige ejus societatem, quia talis diligit veritatem et quod decet regiam magestatem consulit et removet contrarium. Firmus est in animo, constans in corde, fidelis et justus sive rectus suis subditis. Scias ergo hoc. Tale enim consilium[1] rectificat bajulos et ordinat et augmentat regnum regum. Nec facias aliquid prepostere, preponendo postponenda et postponendo preponenda. Nichil penitus agas sine consilio philosophico. Philosophi enim dixerunt quod consilium est oculus futurorum.

Encourage them and treat them well.

Counsel is a sight of things to come.

A king reproved by one of his counsellors for asking advice in full council about a secret revealed by a favourite queen.

Et in libris Persarum legitur quod quidam rex eorum consuluit barones suos et quesivit consilium a bajulis suis super quodam secreto valde quod fuit revelatum regine[2] cuidam dilecte ab eo. Respondit ergo unus eorum: Non oportet quod rex querat aliquod consilium a nobis super aliquo suo facto vel secreto, set separatim querat a quolibet secretum suum. Quia in secretis consiliis talia revelantur uni que non communiter coram pluribus vel multis dicuntur, nec debent revelari multis: sic ergo perfice. Profecto ergo
105 a. dico | quod non oportet hoc fieri in omnibus operibus, immo convenit ut hoc fiat cum consideracione. Convenit eciam quod vocentur ad presenciam tuam in prosperitatibus suis in ligando et solvendo secundum proprietates[3] arguendo atque solvendo sicut premisimus: quoniam quidam philosophorum dixit quod regis sapientis sapiencia augmentabitur per consilium bajulorum bonorum, sicut augmentatur equor[4]

A king's wisdom is increased by the counsel of his servants.

[1] vel, quod talis consilium (*in another hand*).
[2] vel, regi per quemdam dilectum ab eo.
[3] scilicet, ingenii cujuslibet ut consulant.
[4] id est, mare.

17 Chapter xcix. *V*.

per recepcionem fluminum et aquarum. Et poterit multa adquirere per prudenciam et per consilium que non poterit habere per potenciam bellatorum.

The Mede's counsel to his son.

Et in libro cujusdam Medorum mandatum est filio suo: Fili, necessarium est tibi habere consilium [1], quoniam [2] unus es in hominibus.[3] Consule ergo illum [4] qui poterit liberare a potente. Et noli parcere inimico set in quantum et quantumcunque et quocunque modo honesto poteris tuam in ipso victoriam manifesta, et in quolibet tempore.

Always have other people's advice,

Cave tibi a potencia inimici, nec habundancia tui sensus in tua credulitate, nec altitudo tui status in temetipso impediat quin semper agreges tuo consilio consili|um alienum, 105 b.
quoniam alienum si placet et sit tibi utile amplectendum est et implendum, et tuum semper remaneat penes te. Si vero discrepent a tuo arbitrio, tunc est tuum examinare et considerare, et si est juvamentum et utile super eo quod considerasti, amplectere ipsum, et si est inutile, abstine ab eodem.

whether you take it or no.

Capitulum .12. *de numero bajulorum, et quod non constituatur unus solus bajulus in regimine, set .7. si poterit fieri, vel tres ad minus, et de bajulis experiendis temptandis et probandis, et de signis quibus cognoscitur an boni an mali sint consiliarii.*

Never pu a single counsellor in power.

SOllicite et diligenter moneo te et do tibi optimum consilium quod nunquam constituas unum bajulum solum in regimine loco tui, quoniam ejus consilium posset destruere et corrumpere regnum tuum et convertere subditos et proceres ad se et intendere propriis utilitatibus et excogitare declinacionem tuam,[5] et multa alia que longum esset enarrare. Si forte non occurrant tibi quinque bajuli qui tibi placeant sint saltem tres et non minus, quia maximum

If you cannot find five, do not have less than three.

[1] scilicet, aliorum. [2] aliter, quia.
[3] et unus non sufficit sibi. [4] ipsum.
[5] ut, scilicet, regnum declinaret a te et ad eum.

10 Chapter c. *V.*

bonum proveniet ex hoc, scilicet, ex tribus, quia nisi tertius | 106 a. esset nichil penitus nosceretur. Quia primum super quod fundate sunt omnes res est trinitas,[1] et per quinarium mediantur, et per septenarium perficiuntur. Quia .7. sunt celi, et .7. planete[2] et .7. sunt dies, et circuitus Lune septenarius, et dies pocionis seu medicine sunt septem, et dies peryodi[3] sunt .7. et multa alia spectant ad septenarium numerum quorum enumeracio esset longa.

The virtues of the number three. The excellences of the number seven.

De temptacione bajulorum.

Test your counsellor by saying you want money. If he advises opening the treasury, or spending the money of your subjects, he is an evil counsellor. If he offers you all he has, he is trustworthy.

Et unum ex hiis quibus temptare poteris bajulum quemlibet tuum est quod ostendas ei te indigere pecuniam. Si ergo ducat te ad distraccionem eorum que sunt in thesauro tuo, et ostendat hoc esse expediens, scias quod nullum capud precii ponit in te.[4] Et si inducat te ad recipiendum pecuniam subditorum, erit corrupcio regiminis, et odient te ultra modum. Si ergo exponat tibi quod habet, et dicat: Hoc est quod de tua gracia et dominio tuo adquisivi: offerens ipsum tibi, iste est merito comendandus et omni laude dignus, utpote eligens et volens confusionem sui ipsius pro tua gloria.

Try them also by gifts and rewards. Do not trust the avaricious

106 b. Temptabis eciam bajulos | tuos in donis et muneribus faciendis. Quem ergo illorum videris conari et intendere super hiis ultra modum, nullum bonum speres in eo. Et ille bajulus qui anelat pecunie acquirende, et ad thesauros observandos, non confidas in eo, quia ejus servicium est propter aurum, et dimittit pecuniam currere cum sensibus hominum, et est profunditas[5] sine fundo,[6] et non est in

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[1] que est trinitas divina.

[2] hic comprehendit duo luminaria, scilicet Solem et Lunam sub numero planetarum cum prius magis stricte sumpsit numerum planetarum.

[3] id est, septimane, in morbis acutis quorum ultima dies est dies crisis. 'Peryodus' vero est 'circuitus'.

[4] id est, non appreciatur te. [5] scilicet, cupiditatis.

[6] scilicet, quod quantum plus habet tanto plus cupit. Hic est sensus hominum, ut prius dicit.

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10 Chapter ci. *V.*

eo terminus sive finis, quia quanto magis crescit pecunia crescit intencio acquirendi et sollicitudo. Et hoc in bajulo est causa corrupcionis regni multis de causis, quia forte amor pecunie et ardor inducet eum ad tuam mortem vel ad illum qui ad hoc intendit.

who often bring a realm to destruction.

Et ideo conveniens esset quod tuus bajulus non elongaretur a tua presencia, et precipias ei quod non habeat tractatum vel frequenciam cum aliquo regum ex regibus, et non legat[1] eis epistolam nec mittat eis nova. Et cum perceperis talia, muta eos sine mora,[2] quoniam animi veloces sunt et facile declinant ad promissiones et contrarias voluntates. Et utilior ex bajulis tuis est qui magis diligit vitam tuam et obedienciam, et qui magis inducit subditos ad tuum honorem et amorem, et qui exponit tibi res suas et | personam ad placitum, et qui habet has virtutes et mores quos enumerabo.

Do not let your counsellors have dealings with other kings.

The most useful counsellor.

107 a.

Capitulum .13. *de specialibus condicionibus, sive de bonis moribus et virtutibus optimi bajuli.*

INprimis oportet quod habeat perfeccionem membrorum que conveniunt operacionibus pro quibus eligitur et propter que.

The virtues of a good counsellor:

(1) perfect in body,

Secunda bonitate apprehensionis et voluntatem ad intelligendum id quod dicitur.

(2) clear understanding,

Tercio quod sit bone memorie ejus quod audit et apprehendit, ita quod nichil tradat oblivioni.

(3) good memory,

Quarto quod sit considerans et percipiens quando ingreditur difficultas, sicut predixi.

(4) thoughtful,

Quinto quod sit curialis, affabilis, dulcis lingue, ita quod lingua cordis concordet et respondeat cogitacioni, sit eciam expedite lingue seu eloquencie.

(5) courtly and affable

[1] id est, mittat.

[2] scilicet, ad prandia et dona et munera et honores.

17 Chapter cii. *V.*

10 muta] invita MS.

(6) skilled in sciences, especially arithmetic,

Sexto quod sit penetrabilis in omni sciencia, et precipue in arte arithmetica que est ars verissima demonstrativa qua attrahitur natura.[1]

(7) truthful,

Septimo quod sit verax in verbis, diligens veritatem, fugiens mendacium, bone composicionis in moribus et bone complexionis, suavis mansuetus et tractabilis.

(8) sober,

Octavo quod sit sine nota crapule et ebrietatis in cibo et potu, et sine nota coitus, declinans ludos et delectacionem.

(9) courageous,

Nonum est quod sit magnanimus in proposito et diligens honorificenciam. |

(10) not covetous,

107 b. Decimum quod aurum et argentum et cetera accidentalia hujus mundi sint contemptibilia apud ipsum, et non sit ejus propositum nec intencio nisi in hiis que conveniunt dignitati et regimini, et quod diligat proximum et remotum.

(11) a lover of justice,

Undecimum quod diligat et amplectetur justos atque justiciam, odio habens injuriam et offensam, reddens unicuique quod suum est, subveniens oppressis et hiis qui injuriam paciuntur, removens penitus omnem injusticiam, nullam penitus faciens differenciam in personis et gradibus hominum quos[2] Deus creavit equales.

(12) strong and persevering,

Duodecimum est quod sit fortis et perseverantis propositi in hiis que sibi videntur agenda, audax sine timore vel pusillaminitate.

(13) economical.

Tercium decimum est quod sciat omnes exitus expensarum, et non lateat eum aliqua utilitas que ad ipsum regnum spectat, et non conquerantur subditi sui aliquo modo querimonie nisi in permissis casibus, in quibus prodesse poterit.

(14) taciturn,

Quartum decimum est quod non sit verbosus vel emittens multos risus, quia temperancia multum placet hominibus, |
108 a. exhibens se curialiter hominibus et benigne tractans.

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[1] scilicet, intellectus qui omnia reperit numeris distincta et ordinata.

[2] homines.

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7 *Altered from* in crapula et ebrietate

Quintumdecimum quod sit de numero non utencium vinum et alia xennia, et sit curia sua patens omnibus advenientibus, et quod sit intendens ad explorandum et inquirendum nova de omnibus, confortans subditos et corrigens opera ipsorum, consolando eos in adversitatibus, deferens quandoque et tollerans illorum simplicitatem.

(15) keeping open court to suitors.

De naturis et condicionibus hominis. D

Scias ergo quod non creavit Deus gloriosus creaturam sapientiorem homine, et non colligit in aliquo animali quod in eo collegit. Et non potes reperire in aliquo animalium consuetudinem vel morem quem non invenies in homine. Quoniam audax est ut leo, timidus ut lepus, largus ut gallus, avarus ut lupus, iracundus ut canis, durus et hastutus ut corvus, durus et austerus ut cervus, pius ut turtur. maliciosus ut leena, privatus et domesticus ut columba, versipellis et dolosus ut vulpis, simplex et mitis ut agnus, velox et agilis ut capriolus vel hinniculus, tardus et piger ut ursus, preciosus et carus ut elephas, vilis et stolidus ut asinus, rebellis et parvus[1] ut | rex vel regulus, obediens et humilis ut pavo, 108 b. fatuus ut strucio,[2] utilis ut apis, dissolutus et vagabundus ut caper (vel aper), indomitus sicut taurus, mutus ut piscis, racionabilis ut angelus, luxuriosus ut porcus, maliciosus ut bubo, utilis sicut equus, nocivus ut mus. Et universaliter non reperitur animal aliquod seu vegetabile seu originale vel minerale, nec celum sive planeta nec signum, nec aliquod ens de omnibus entibus, habens aliquid proprium, quin illud proprium inveniatur in homine: et propter hoc vocatus est minor mundus.

Man unites in himself all the qualities of animals: lion, hare, cock, wolf, dog, crow, deer, turtle-dove, lioness, dove, fox, lamb, kid, bear, elephant, ass, wren, peacock, ostrich, bee, goat, bull, fish, angel, pig, owl, horse, mouse.

He is a microcosm.

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[1] aliter, pravus.

[2] quia ponens ova sua in pulvere obliviscitur ea aspiciendo ad stellam quandam in celo, et postea cum ea invenit fracta et conculcata pedibus animalium, dolet et luget multum.

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7 Chapter ciii. *V.*

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1 non utencium] mittencium MS.

E

Capitulum .14. *quod non est confidendum in homine alterius legis, vel de confidencia in homine non habenda nisi sit tue legis et professionis.*

Have no trust in misbelievers.

ET nunquam speres in homine qui non credit legem tuam. Et cave ne accidat tibi quod accidit duobus hominibus qui dicuntur associati fuisse in uno itinere, quorum unus erat Magus orientalis, reliquus vero Judeus. Magus equitavit mulam quam nutrivit ad placitum suum, que portabat universa necessaria sua quibus indigebat viator.

The tale of the Mage and the Jew, who met on a journey.

109 a. Judeus vero incedebat pedes non habens | cibum nec alia necessaria. Dum ergo confabularentur adinvicem in via, dixit Magus Judeo: Que est lex tua, et que est fides tua? Respondit Judeus: Credo quod in celo unus est Deus quem adoro, et expecto ab eo bonum anime mee et remuneracionem, et illis qui conveniunt mecum in lege mea. Et fides mea et credulitas mea est quod qui discrepat mecum in fide mea et lege mea licitum est mihi tollere sanguinem suum,[1] pecuniam suam et accidens suum, id est, uxorem, parentes et genitores. Insuper maledictum est mihi si servo ei fidem vel juvo ipsum in aliquo vel facio secum justiciam vel parco ei. Consequenter, inquit Mago, demonstravi in quid tibi legem meam et fidem meam, redde ergo me certum de lege et fide tua.

The Mage asked the Jew of his law.

The Jew said he worshipped one God, and was good to all Jews, and kept faith with no other sort of man.

The Mage said: 'I do harm to no creature of God; if any living man is hurt, it is an evil to me,

Cui respondit Magus: Fides et credulitas et lex mea hee sunt. Inprimis, volo mihi ipsi bonum et filiis generis mei, et nolo alicui creature Dei malum, neque sequentibus legem meam neque discrepitantibus mecum in eadem. Et credo equitatem et misericordiam servandam cuilibet viventi, et nulla injuria placet mihi. Videtur eciam mihi si quid mali accidat alicui vivencium, quod illud malum me contingat et

109 b. me conturbet. Affecto eciam | prosperitatem et sanitatem et incolumitatem et felicitatem accidere omnibus hominibus universaliter.

[1] id est, vitam suam.

1 Chapter civ. *V.*

Tunc, dixit ei Judeus: Quid si injuria vel offensa fiat tibi? Cui Magus: Scio quod in celo est Deus justus, bonus, et sapiens, cui nichil est occultum, nichil secretum, nichil penitus celatum de hiis que latent in suis creaturis, qui remunerat bonos juxta bonitates suas, malos vero et transgressores punit juxta transgressiones suas.

and if he hurts me, God will reward all men.

Cui Judeus: Quare ergo non servas legem tuam, ut quid non confirmas operibus tuis fidem tuam? Magus inquid: Quomodo fiet hoc? Cui Judeus: Ecce ego sum de filiis tui generis, et tu vides me ambulare pedes fatigatum famelicum, et tu es eques saturatus et quietus. Cui Magus: Veritas est hec: et descendens de mula aperuit manticam suam, et cibavit eum ac potavit, deinde fecit eum equitare equitaturam.

The Jew said: 'Why do you not give me a ride since I am weary?'

Postquam vero Judeus bene firmavit se in equitando, et junxerit calcaria festinando, relinquendo Magum. Tunc cepit vociferare et dicere: Expecta me, quia confusus sum valde. Judeus vero di|cebat: Nonne indicavi tibi legem 110 a.
meam et ejus condicionem, et ego volo similiter confirmare eam[1]. Tunc festinabat Judeus mulam, et Magus sequens vestigia ejus inquid: O Judee, noli me derelinquere in hoc deserto ne forte interficiar a leonibus, et moriar male fame et dolorosa siti. Age ergo misericorditer mecum sicut ego tecum. Judeus vero non respiciebat retro nec intendebat dictis suis, nec cessavit donec latuit visum ejus.

When the Jew mounted he rode off, leaving the Mage in the desert.

Quando ergo Magus desperatus fuit de succursu, recordatus est perfeccionis sue legis et fidei sue, et ejus quod dixerat Judeo, videlicet quod in celo est Deus justus judex, cui nichil est occultum, et nichil secretum in creaturis suis latet. Dirigens ergo capud suum ad celum dixit: Deus meus, tu nosti quia credidi in te, in tua lege, in tuis mandatis, sanctificavi te sicut perpendisti: confirma ergo apud Judeum laudem meam in te. Hiis dictis, non multum ierat Magus, et ecce invenit Judeum prostratum et dejectum de

The Mage called on God, the rightful Judge: 'Confirm my praise of Thee to this Jew.'

Soon he found the Jew in evil case.

[1] ipsam.

16 confusus] fessus *V.*

110 b. mula, confrac|ta tibia et leso collo. Mula vero stabat ex opposito a remotis, que videns Magum novit dominum suum et accessit ad ipsum propter nutrituram suam. Equitans ergo Magus mulam ipsam et derelinquens Judeum in periculo mortis et doloribus, recedebat. Judeus vero clamabat: Bone frater, pro Deo habe misericordiam de me, quia confractus sum et morior, et indigeo pietate; miserere et observa legem tuam, quia contulit tibi victoriam qua superasti me. Tunc cepit ipsum Magus increpare: Tu male peccasti in me, derelinquisti me sine misericordia. Cui Judeus: Noli me reprehendere de re preterita, quia tibi ostendi quod hec est lex mea et fides mea in quibus nutritus sum, et inveni parentes meos et senes antiquos in hac lege perseverantes.

The Jew asked for mercy.

The Mage reproved him.

The Jew said: 'I have only obeyed my religion.'

Tunc misertus est ejus Magus, et portavit eum post se donec perveniret ad locum destitutum[1], et ipsum tradidit genti sue, qui post dies aliquos exspiravit. Audiens ergo rex illius civitatis opera illius Magi, fecit eum vocari ad se, 111 a. et constituit eum bajulum | suum propter opera pia et bonitatem legis sue.

The Mage had mercy on him and was brought to great honour.

Laudes Deo, et finis hujus est.

F

Capitulum .15. de eleccione hominum prudencium et fidelium ad scribenda gesta et dicta regis, sive de scriptore secretorum eligendo.

The choice of a good secretary shows the king's wit.

Oportet te eligere ad scribenda secreta tua opera viros prudentes qui sunt[2] forcius signum et validius argumentum ad ostendendum quantitatem tui intellectus et subtilitatem tue cogitacionis, quoniam significacio sive interpretacio sermonis est spiritus ejus et dicciones sunt corpus, scriptura vero sermonis vestimentum. Sicut ergo oportet te esse virum spiritualem pulcri aspectus et ornatum, ita decet quod

[1] destinatum. [2] vel, habent.

22 Book V, Chapter cv. *V.*

25 Oportet] Eportet MS.

tu eligas de scribis seu scriptoribus qui habeant hanc perfeccionem in eloquencia ornata et in recordacione subtili, et sicut tuam ipse interpretatur voluntatem, et constituitur super tuis secretis et occultis, ita oportet quod sit bone fidei fidelis cognicionis in tua voluntate et in universis operibus tuis, et quod intendat tuo comodo et honori sicut oportet. Quod si non est talis, corrumpet honorem et veritatem et voluntatem tuorum factorum et dictorum. Et oportet quod sit cautus et precavens in operibus suis, ne quis ingrediatur et respiciat secreta scripta. Et condecet quod tu re|muneres opera sua juxta servicium tibi exhibitum, et juxta terminum imposicionis tue voluntatis ut sit sollicitus in tuo regimine. Pone ergo ipsum in gradu renumeracionis tue, quia ejus veritas tua est, et ejus corrupcio tua est.

He should be eloquent,

faithful,

and cautious.

111 b.

Reward him well.

Capitulum .16. *de eleccione nunciorum dignorum.* G

SCias eciam quod nuncius seu missus demonstrat sapienciam mittentis, et ejus est oculus in hiis que non videt, et ejus auris in hiis que non audit, et lingua ejus in ejus absencia. Oportet ergo eligere digniorem ex hiis qui sunt in tua presencia, sapientem, prudentem et honorabilem, considerantem, fidelem, declinantem seu fugientem omnem turpitudinem seu culpam. Et si invenias ipsum talem, voca eum et confer cum eo de hiis in quibus nescit tuum velle, et tunc percipies si est in eo[1] id quod queritur, quia forte ipse non est juxta hoc, set forte hec intencio est in alio. Et si non est sic in hac determinacione, sit ad minus secretarius fidelis, justus, nichil addens vel diminuens de hiis in quibus est missus, et quod sit custodiens mandatum tuum, et intendens de hiis que audit ex responsione sibi facta. | Si ergo non inveneris eum talem, sit fidelis tamen deferens litteras tuas ei ad quem mittuntur, et referens atque reportans responsionem. Et si de aliquo nunciorum tuorum

Ambassadors are the king's eyes, ears, and tongue in his absence.

Their qualifications.

The choice of an ambassador.

At worst, let him be a faithful messenger.

112 a.

Be not served by

[1] ipso.

15 Book VI, Chapter cvi. *V. The MS. chapter heading adds* 'et nota illud capitulum sicut alia omnia'.

covetous ambassadors,

perpenderis sollicitum et attentum pecunie adquirende vel colligende de locis ad que mittitur, respue eum penitus, quia non mittitur tuo comodo.

or drunkards.

Do not send great nobles on embassies.

Nec mittas nuncium qui diligit vinum et se inebriat, quoniam Perses in adventu nuncii instant penes ipsum ut bibat vinum habundanter, quod si superflue biberit cognoscunt quod dominus ejus minus erat sapiens. Cave ne mittas nuncium tuum majorem bajulum, nec permittas eum elongari a tuo conspectu, quoniam hoc est destruccio tui regni.[1] Qualitates ergo nunciorum tuorum, laudes et improperia eorum denunciavi tibi et ordinaciones eorundem, et qualiter cognoscuntur in infidelitate et bona fide. Quando ergo nuncius non invenitur talis, set hanelat donis et retribucionibus, et prodit te de hiis que injuncta sunt ei, et inventus fuerit diminutus in regimine tuo, non impono tibi mensuram pene sibi injungende[2] vel infligende.

Degrade covetous ambassadors.

H 112 b. *Capitulum .17. de regimine | sive gubernacione subditorum. sive de subditis regendis et defendendis, et de prepositis super eos constituendis, sive de prudencia regis circa subditos.*[3]

Subjects are the wealth of the realm.

They are like an orchard.

JAm novisti quod subditi sunt pecunie domus tue, id est, thesaurus tuus, quibus confirmatur tuum regnum. Equipara, ergo, subditos tuos viridario in quo sunt genera diversa arborum fructiferarum, et non habeas eos sicut gramina nascencia que reddunt absinthium et tribulos et nichil generant fructuosum, quoniam arbores habent in se multos

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[1] quia absencia talis persone infert dampna regno et posset eciam mala componere pacta cum hiis ad quos ivit.

[2] set ultra omnem modum puni eum.

[3] Documentum illud sive istius capituli stat in hoc quod rex per bajulos et alios ministros ordinet regnum suum sicut antiquitus ordinate sunt civitates et regna, ut, scilicet, nullus in regno sit ociosus set occupatus, et quod nullus sit inutilis, set utiliter vacet officiis et operibus, vel militaribus vel agriculture vel mechanicis operibus vel mercacionibus vel judiciis et conservacionibus juris et pacis, et artes male excludantur et ociosi et latrones et hujusmodi.

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17 Book VII, Chapter cvii. *V.*

palmites et ramos et truncos erectos, quedam habent[1] fructum et semen utile ad multiplicacionem sui generis cum bene coluntur et reguntur. Juxta potestatem tui thesauri est durabilitas et defensio tui regni et tue potencie.

Give good heed to their wants.

Oportet ergo ut bene regantur subditi et quod intendas eorum necessitatibus et quod removeas injurias ab eisdem, et quod nunquam tedeat te superintendere eorum condicionibus, et inquirere de hiis quibus indigent. Habeas ergo unum solum prepositum a te constitutum | qui non intendat ad destruccionem arborum set ad conservacionem, qui prepositus bene sit dispositus, morigeratus, longanimis, sapiens, paciens. Qui si non est talis corda subditorum rebellant ejus regimini et corrumpentur per ipsum cogitaciones que erant pure.

113 a.

Bad governance causes rebellion.

Noli multiplicare dispensatores in expensis tuis faciendis quia per hoc ingredietur corrupcio super te. Quia quilibet eorum intendit superare comparem suum in corrupcione[2] sui corporis, et conabitur se ostendere fidelem et utilem tibi in tuorum oppressionibus subditorum, et hoc facit quilibet bajulorum ut in officio ad quod fuit deputatus diucius perseveret. Et multi tales sunt qui unum dicunt et aliud faciunt, et multos corrumpunt ut eos manuteneant et defendant.

Do not multiply useless officials: they will oppress your subjects.

Capitulum .18. *de proceribus et ordine sive ordinacione eorum pro bello, sive de disposicione et numero procerum seu militum in regimine regni et in tempore belli, sive de disposicione ductoris sui et de accione bellatorum ipsorum inferiorum.*

PRoceres sunt addicio et multiplicacio regni, et per ipsos honoratur curia et ordinatur regnum in gradibus suis. Optima ergo ordinacio est necessaria in eorum gradibus et disposicionibus, ut non lateat te propinqui condicio et remoti

The utility of the peers of the realm.

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[1] et ita debet fieri in subditis regni.
[2] aliter, in correpcione sui comparis (vel operis).

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15 Chapter cviii. *V.*   24 Book VIII, Chapter cix. *V.*

113 b. de numero ipsorum. Hec est necessaria ordinacio | in propositura et numero qui dicitur et refertur ad numerum[1] sub numero. Dico ergo ordinacionem quadruplicem necessariam esse, quoniam quilibet locus in terra est quadruplex in ejus differencia, scilicet, retro et ante, dextra et sinistra, et sic sunt species mundi similiter quatuor, oriens occidens meridies et septentrio. Sit igitur cuilibet preceptorum[2] quarta pars regni in ejus regimine, et si vis plures, sint decem, quoniam decem et quatuor sunt perfecta; quoniam in denario est unum et duo et tres et quatuor, si ergo colligeris hec, faciunt decem. Decennarius numerus est perfeccio eorum que complectuntur quaternarium et circumdabunt in numeris.

Have them in a fourfold ordinance, like space or the earth; or, if not four, ten. Ten is a perfect number.

Sequantur ergo quemlibet preceptorem .x. vicarii, et sequantur quemlibet vicarium ductores .x., et quemlibet ductorem .x. decani, et sequantur quemlibet decanum .x. homines, omnes[3] ergo homines sunt[4] in universo centum milia pugnatorum. Quando ergo indiges servicio .x. milium virorum, convocari precipies ad expedicionem faciendam preceptorem unum, et sequantur ipsum .x. vicarii, et venient cum quolibet vicario .x. ductores, et cum quolibet ductore
114 a. .x. decani, | qui sunt mille, et venient cum quolibet decano .x. homines pugnatores, faciunt ergo in summa .x. milia pugnatores. Et si indigeas mille bellatoribus, precipies uni vicariorum et venient cum eo .x. ductores, et cum quolibet ductore .x. decani, et cum quolibet decano .x. pugnatores, sunt ergo in summa mille bellatores. Et si indigeas centum bellatoribus, precipies uni ductorum ut cum eo veniant .x. decani, et cum quolibet decano .x. pugnatores, qui omnes faciunt centum. Et si indigeas .x. bellatoribus vel preliatoribus precipies uni decano et venient cum ⟨eo⟩ .x. bellatores.

Let each chief have ten subordinates. How to summon an army of ten thousand. How to summon one thousand, or a hundred, or ten.

In hoc ergo parcetur tibi in expensis et victualibus, et alleviaberis et consequeris quod desideras in proposito tuo,

By this means your expense will be lessened.

[1] sicut postea exponit, ut decem homines sub uno decano etc.
[2] id est, eorum qui precipiunt.
[3] scilicet, in istis numeris.
[4] apti ad bellum.

et diminuetur labor tuus in proceribus tuis, quoniam quilibet eorum reget .x. inferiores se in gradu suo, et sic alleviabitur opus in eis: et preceptor tuus immediatus[1] sit callidus et prudens disponen

De scriba bono dando proceribus.

Et necessarium est proceribus habere scribam sapientem sagacem fidelem considerantem appro|batum in milicia, ne valeant proceres corrumpi denariis. Inquiras igitur diligenter cogitaciones eorum, et quando percipies aliquid tale vel aliquem talem, remove eum, et collige eos ostendens eis quod in remocione sua providisti eis. Oportet ergo te esse tractabilem curialem non contemptorem quorundam propter alios.

Give them a good secretary.

114 b.

Get rid of traitors.

De instrumento bellico excercitum coadunante et de forma ejusdem instrumenti.

Et oportet te tecum habere illud instrumentum quod fecit Temistius ad opus excercitus ad nocendum, et est instrumentum terribile quod dividitur multis modis,[2] quia forte oportebit te vocare totam provinciam tuam et regnum tuum, et congregare subito proceres tuos bellatores tuos in eadem die vel cicius, vel aliquo modo prout indiget excercitus magnus et numerosus, nam hujus instrumenti sonus auditur per miliaria sexaginta. Hoc est cornu eneum artificio mirabili fabricatum, quo ex .lx. miliariis tempore belli suum excercitum convocabat, et regebatur cornu sexaginta hominibus propter sui magnitudinem et inestimabilem artificium, et verisimile est quod multa metallorum resonancium genera in ejus composicione concurrebant, et hec est forma cornu.

The horn of battle of Temistius:

it will summon your men for 60 miles round.

[1] tibi, scilicet, qui est primus et similiter omnes alii, vel inmediatus cuilibet gradui.

[2] bene dico oportet te habere illud instrumentum.

14 Chapter cx. *V.*

K

Capitulum .19. *de rege in bello, et de aliis que debent* 115 a. *attendi in bello, scilicet, de modo | in bellis tenendo, sive de regimine bellatorum et forma aggrediencium bellum et provocacionibus corundem.*

Do not risk yourself in battle.

NOli frequentare bella et exponere te et animam tuam eis; frequenta tamen consilia majorum qui sunt intima vicaria tua, et non occupes te in hiis in quibus occupantur (vel utuntur) victi vel vituperati congressionibus bellorum. Non temptabis neque frequentabis prelia in propria persona, set teneas majores circa te, ne occuperis (vel vaces) circa ea quibus detinentur presumptuosi et audaces in congregacionibus (vel in congressionibus), quia certissimum est quod nunquam convenit (vel contendit) rex cum rege quin alter illorum machinatus sit in destruccione alterius, et hoc inventum est in natura.[1]

The object of battle is to destroy the king.

Scias ergo quod victoria est ex corpore et anima consurgens (vel proveniens) ex duobus oppositis[2] repugnantibus. Est ergo spiritus eorum spes et fiducia victorie regis utriusque,[3] quorum corpus est conjunccio utriusque partis. Quando ergo non incidit spes victorie, de seipsis moriuntur[4] 115 b. et cessant prelia. Et | perdurat prelium quamdiu durat perseverancia in spe superandi partem quamlibet utriusque. Sit ergo conatus tuus et intencio tua in durabilitate, in perseverancia tui, et in stabilitate et sustentacione illorum qui sunt tui generis. Et noli vilipendere personas eorum quasi contemptor, set collige verba eorum (seu recipe

The hope of victory sustains war.

Keep up the spirits of your men.

Example of bees.

[1] Scilicet, in regibus apum, quia reges apum exeunt cum examinibus suis sive excercitibus in pugnam et fortissime pugnant donec unus excercitus vincatur, et ita est in multis aliis animalibus.

[2] id est, regibus vel ducibus contrariis duorum excercituum. Wlt dicere quod victoria fit ex duobus; unum est spes et fiducia superandi adversarium, et hoc vocat animam methaphorice, aliud est conjunccio excercituum corporalis, et hoc vocat corpus.

[3] ex utrolibet. [4] id est, non fiunt.

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1 Book IX, Chapter cxi. *V.*

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16 victoria] invidia *V*

familiariter) promitte eis donaria et honores, et solve promissa.

Be always armed,

Scias eciam quod non oportet te in excercitu incidere nisi togatum vel loricatum, ita quod si subito inveniaris sub inimico querente te. Sit tota sollicitudo tua vel prudencia in premunicione tui ipsius, scilicet, in armis et custodibus et exploratoribus.

and on the watch.

Et necessaria est vigilancia in quolibet tempore noctis et diei.

Camp near water.

Et noli castrametiri nisi in loco vicino monti vel conjuncto ei vel juxta aquis. Et defer victualia tecum multa quamvis non indigeas totidem.

Frighten your enemies.

Et multiplica machinas discurrentes, et voces horribiles, quoniam hec sunt fortitudo et virtus eorum qui tecum sunt et durabilitas ad[1] eorum | propositum, et timor ac divisio inimicis. 116 a.

Use all kinds of arms.

Et utere in tuis proceribus diversis generibus armorum: quidam tantum utantur missibilibus et sagittis ⟨quidam in acie et in turba, alii vero deputati⟩ ad discurrendum. Et quando venerit acies ad preliandum, mitte cum eis formam speciosissimam et turres ligneas in quibus sint armati sagittarii mittentes missibilia ardencia. Et si videris eos trepidos vel deficientes, confirma corda eorum et inducas ad perseveranciam.

The order of battle.

Item, ordina acies tuas sicut premisimus et ut sequetur. Constitue ergo ad dexteram genus percucienciuni et agrediencium, ad sinistrum vero genus lanceatorum, et in corde seu in medio genus mittencium faces ardentes et jacencium seu sagittancium et sonancium voces horribiles et faciencium motus diversos.

Take the higher ground.

Et sit semper supereminens locus ubi cum adversariis preliaberis: ipsi vero quando percipient hoc instabunt, et cum instancia conabuntur.

Watch for treason.

Cave ergo tunc prodicionem, et precipue tunc cum tuos videris vacillantes. Et ad illam partem quam videris | in 116 b. adversariis vacillantem, versus illam dirige acies atque bellum, et cum omnibus hiis perseveranciam frequenta, quia hoc est de originalibus victorie.

None are conquered before they are afraid.

Unde dicitur quod victoria non provenit de aliquibus, nisi prius vincantur pusillanimitate cordium in semetipsis, et per ingressionem

[1] aliter, ac.

affectus [1] super eos. Insuper multiplica insidias et constitue insidiatores cum sonis terribilibus, quia sunt de numero superancium et vincencium.

Have plenty of food and drink in reserve.

Et est quedam cautela perducens ad propositum unum ex fundamentis preliorum, et habeas loca determinata parata in aliquo locorum excercitus ad succurendum in potibus et aliis necessariis, et ad conservandum proceres tuos. Multiplica eciam animalia portancia municiones et castra pugnancia, utpote elephantes, quia sunt valde terribiles, et animalia velocissima utpote dromedarios, in quibus est spes fuge in necessitate et quasi castrum.

Elephants and dromedaries.

Artillery

Si vero debes pugnare in castella [2], utere instrumentis proicientibus lapides, utpote machinis, et multiplica ea

117 a. juxta modum instantis necessitatis | ad hoc ; et eciam utere instrumentis penetrantibus et jac⟨i⟩entibus sagittas, et pila habeas venenata. Et si venire poteris ad fontem vel locum unde inimici hauriunt aquas potabiles, infunde in illis locis diversa venena corrumpencia et tunc inimicis effodias sepulturas.

and poisoned darts.

Poison the wells.

Persevere.

Observa in omnibus perseveranciam, quia res est valde commendabilis et res faciens ad propositum. Et nunquam sequaris fugientem. Et noli festinare in tuis operibus. Et si possibile est tibi, sint universa opera tua prodiciones inimicis et circumvenciones. Observa ergo hoc, et ita facies quod bellum sit ultimum opus tuum, quia progenies Indorum et genus Indie sunt homines proditores et circumventores, et non est eis hoc obprobrium. Perses vero et Turci et Parthi unus populus est, quia Parthos constat Getas fuisse, quorum Amazones fuerunt uxores ; sunt homines animosi valde et presumpcionis magne. Pugna ergo cum qualibet ex hiis eo modo quo convenit ad opus tuum. Minimum non facias esse magnum, et non prevenias postponendis [3].

Do not pursue the fugitives.

Always try to find traitors among your enemies,

especially Indians.

Persians, Turks, and Parthians are different.

Change your methods for each enemy,

117 b. Et sint opera tua in manifesto et occulto juxta modum

[1] scilicet, timoris et desperacionis.

[2] vel, in castellatos.

[3] preponendum.

27 Turci] c^{a}ti 32 non *pr.*] vero MS.

premissum, et juxta historiam et qualitates seu disposiciones sciencie astrorum, sicut docui prius.[1]

and by counsel of the stars.

Capitulum .20. de eleccione temporis pro bellis agredientibus. **L**

QUando ergo vis consequi firmitatem propositi ex disposicione supracelestium, constitue ascendentem [2] seu orientem in Leone, et tempera [3] Lunam vel dominacionem ejus quod sit in bono loco ex ascendente, et statue dominum ascendentis [4] in domibus Martis, et non omittas visionem | Martis sive triplicitate.[5] Et considera tunc omnem operacionem cujus naturam et materiam vis habere ex planetis et

To ensure success Leo must be in the ascendant, and the Moon in good aspect with Mars.

118 a.

[1] Nota hic historiam Amazonum, quarum viri fuerunt de Scythia et Scythe, et hec regio est ultra Alemaniam ad aquilonem extensa longitudine ad fines orientis ultra flumen Tanaim quod currit inter Europam et Asiam Majorem. De Scythia ergo circa flumen Tanaim venerunt gentes que nunc vocantur Gothii, et duces eorum fuerunt duo juvenes regii, et fraude magnatum fuerunt expulsi de regno. Qui colligentes magnam multitudinem juvenum pecierunt partes Asie et tandem Europe cum uxoribus suis et omnibus bonis, et oppresserunt multas gentes. Quibus tamen tandem mortuis, uxores occiderunt omnes viros suos et arma capientes invaserunt vicinas gentes subjugantes eas. Et quia noluerunt habere viros de suis, pecierunt certo anni tempore concubitus a vicinis gentibus subjugatis, et omnes filios suos occiderunt, filias tantum reservantes, quarum mammas sinistras absciderunt ab infancia, et ideo dicte sunt Amazones, id est, sine mamma. Et hoc fecerunt propter usum sagittandi. Que occupaverunt naciones multas per circiter mille annos usque tempus Alexandri Magni et Aristotilis et ultra.

The story of the Amazons.

[2] id est, quod Leo sit in ascendente.

[3] aliter, repara.

[4] scilicet, Solem, quia domus Solis est Leo.

[5] Triplicitas Martis habet tria signa, scilicet, Arietem et Leonem et Sagittarium, quia sunt signa calida, et est triplicitas una dignitatum planete, ut in principio libri expositum est. Item, domus uno modo vocatur duodecima pars celi incipiendo ab oriente, et sunt tres sub orizonte usque ad angulum terre, et tres ab eo usque ad occidens, et tunc tres super orizontem usque ad medium celi, et tunc tres usque ad orientem. Alio modo dicitur domus planete, et sic domus dicitur signum aliquod in celo, unde domus Martis sunt due, scilicet, Aries et Scorpius, set Aries est

The triplicity of Mars.

What is the house of a planet.

eorum domibus, et ordina ipsos planetas et signa que sunt ex eadem natura, quoniam hoc est capud operis. Et sint omnia opera tua in manifesto et occulto juxta hunc modum, scilicet, juxta qualitates seu disposiciones sciencie astrorum.

When you journey start in the ascendant of the place you are going to.

Take care the Moon is favourable

Quando ergo volueris iter arripere, ordina ascendentem ad iter et civitatem et locum in quem tendis, et decimum ad opus quod intendis, et insiste circa hoc. Et cave ne Luna sit pessima, id est, eclipsata vel malivola seu turbata, et ne sit directe sub radiis Solis, aut in sexto vel in duodecimo gradu, aut retrograda. Si ergo erit victoria in ascendente[1] seu prosperitas, demonstrabit bonum et prosperum

118 b. eventum, et tunc, maxime si Mercurius est in medio celi, demonstrabit complementum operis et perfeccionem, et quando erit in septima domo demonstrabit possibilitatem operis et leticiam et prosperitatem et perfeccionem propositi, et si fuerit infra terram, significabit complementum negocii et (proprietatem seu) prosperitatem eventus.

and Mercury in mid-heavens.

The Moon must not be in quadrature or opposition to the Sun.

Et cave ne fuerit Luna in ingressu itineris, in quadratura Solis, aut in ejus opposito. Si ergo invenias orientem seu ascendentem in ejus opposito, vel in quadratura Solis, revertere velociter illesus et perficietur opus.

In war, let the Moon be in mid-heaven and Mercury favourable.

Et si vis aggredi bellum, ordina domum Lune medium celi,[2] et Mercurium respicientem ipsam benivolo vultu[3], et fac Mercurium in quarto gradu, repera Lunam maxime, quia in itineribus faciendis universis majus est signum.

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principalis. Et signum dicitur domus, quia ibi dominatur planeta et habet maximam virtutem in eo et fortitudinem, set et domus Solis est Leo et Lune Cancer. Set et hec uberius exposita sunt in principio.

[1] in bona disposicione celesti.

[2] id est, decimam domum.

[3] id est, aspectu.

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26 End of Book IX. *V.*

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7 *post* decimum *lege* ad iter et septimum domum ad

8 *post* intendis *lege* et angulus terre ad eventum : insiste

11. *lege* gradu, ne sit Mercurius sub radiis Solis aut retrograda

N

Capitulum .21. de conveniencia supracelestium cum inferioribus, scilicet, qualiter superiora dominantur inferioribus ad fortunandum regem et pacificandum regiones ut sibi obediant gratis sine coaccione, et est capitulum incantacionis philosophice, sive de ydeis et formis.

O Alexander, jam scivisti illud quod antea sentencia tractavi et exposui tibi non semel, quod, videlicet, substancia hujus mundi universo in ejus superioritate, posterioritate et inferioritate, sive altitudine, anterioritate et profunditate una est, nullam habens differenciam secundum substanciam, quia ejus | differencia solummodo est in accidentibus, et ejus existencia est in forma et coloribus. Si igitur nulla res differt in seipsa, consequens est ut ejus differencia sit ab alia. Quicquid igitur videmus in hoc mundo corrumptibili de naturis, que primo dividuntur in quatuor partes, sunt .4. elementa. Deinde quicquid generatur ex hiis de originalibus, id est mineris vel mineralibus, vegetabilibus et animalibus, ejus causa est ex mundo circumdante ipsum universum, partem scilicet corporalem et partem supercelestem et spiritualem: hec est causa ejus existencie et regens ipsum.

The substance of this world is one in substance,

119 a.

though different in accidents.

Everything mutable in nature can be divided into the four elements.

Apparet igitur quod omnes forme inferiores regantur a formis supracelestibus spericis spiritualibus, et hec est causa conveniens operibus incantamentorum, id est, ymaginum. Et iste forme sperice sunt firme in gradibus firmamenti. Et septem sunt vie ille regentes superiores que recipiunt impressiones earum[1] in suis luminibus, sicut recipit visus et mulier pregnans ydeas et similitudines rerum et earum formas, et producunt eas ad mundum in-

All terrene forms are governed by supracelestial forms: this is the cause of enchantments.

The things of this world receive impressions from without according to their susceptibility.

[1] eorum.

11 accidentibus] accionibus MS. 28 mulier pregnans] Arabic. speculum politum.

1 This section is omitted in the ordinary versions. A better title is supplied by the first corrector of this MS. and in some other MSS. 'R⟨ubrica⟩. Diccio decima de scienciis incantamentorum et de secretis astrorum, et de inclinacione animorum et de proprietatibus lapidum et herbarum.'

feriorem, juxta possibilitatem informantis et imprimentis eas (seu componentis). Recipiet ergo quelibet res de originalibus et vegetabilibus et animalibus ab illis secundum quod in natura sua potens est recipere.

Et scias quod recepcio cujuslibet supracelestium in illis 119 b. formis accidit[1] juxta | suam possibilitatem in recipiendo ipsam, et similiter quicquid formatur in inferioribus ex impressionibus superiorum (vel superioribus formis). Forcius igitur ydolum incantamentorum et durabilius judicatur quod insidiatur a Queynuan sene et a patre sene; deinde cum illo qui inclinat se ad sapienciam et ad judicium justicie, qui est magnus apparens in libertate; deinde qui sequitur ipsa[2] ad (pudendum sive) puteum flavum, velocem (sive velociter) in motu, principem miraculorum[3] multorum, qui est multe benediccionis. Et convenit similiter quod consideracio sit in tempore suo, et non cesset continuare[4] lumen planetarum et infusionem radiorum suorum, et non sit Luna reproba in eo quod vis bonum esse; et e contra sit cum vis corrumpere (sive corpore erumpere). Et ego ponam tibi exempla in hiis, quibus multum indigebis, et ostendam tibi (faciem vel) finem operis in hoc, Domino concedente.

Capitulum .22. de apprehensione intellectus, sive de impressione formarum.

The mind must be quick of apprehension.

QUoniam illi qui fuerunt velocis apprehensionis, et intellectus eorum fuerunt clarificati ad suscipiendam scienciam, investigaverunt illud quod manifestum est de eo 120 a. quod occultum fuit | eis, et illud cujus sciencia verificata est apud eos confirmaverunt. Et secundum modum, postquam cognoverunt et investigaverunt utilitatem suam et durabilitatem et perpetuitatem, quam celaverunt et occultaverunt ut non associarentur eis in eorum sciencia illi qui non habent

Persons of little understanding cannot penetrate these secrets.

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[1] vel, accipit. [2] vel, ipsum. [3] aliter, periculorum.
[4] et est necesse continuare.

17–18 'et non sit Luna' *in marg.* 'Luna' *later hand* 25 *added in later hand*: 'et est ars universalis ad aggrediendum omnia opera secreta'

apprehensionem quam illi apprehenderunt, nec scienciam quam illi sciverunt, ut sunt divisiones Altissimi, cujus potencia et dona sunt glorificata in suis creaturis currentibus secundum suam disposicionem et voluntatem et secundum suam sapienciam super illos quos voluerit et approbaverit. Et non elongabit te Deus gloriosus ab illis qui habuerunt hanc scienciam, cum tu sis de numero eorum qui desiderant aliquid adquirere, et qui appetit victoriam habere, aut secundum intencionem suam ad id quod appetit, aut secundum humilitatem rerum appetitarum ad ipsum.

God will reveal them to you.

Quot igitur sunt in hoc mundo de secretis occultis et de scienciis occultis universalibus et particularibus, que pertranseunt homines et non cognoscuntur nec intendunt circa ipsas, et hoc ideo, quia eorum intencio et desideria tendunt ad alia, et alienum est ab eis quod appetunt. Et jam ostendi tibi quicquid vides in hoc mundo sen|sibus tuis est patens ex duobus, scilicet, ex materia et forma. Omnis igitur forma durabilis est et perpetua in ipso ente (sive operante) sine augmentacione et diminucione.[1] Et omnis materia que est est in[2] generacione, non existit in aliquo tempore[3] ex temporibus, nec vides nisi formam animalium et vegetabilium et mineralium perdurantem in etate,[4] nec suscipit in se corrupcionem vel defectum, augmentum vel diminucionem, quia abest et recedit per corrupcionem corporis et materie deferentis ipsam, quod est compositum necessario ex composicione parcium que sunt divise cum motibus incessantibus in corpore quamdiu existit in aggregacione et segregacione, et informacio durabiliter perseverat.

Many do not know these secrets because they are thinking of other things.

120 b.

Matter and form.

All form is perpetual.

Only form is apprehended by the senses.

Form recedes when change takes place.

Causa autem quare invenitur forma durabilis et perpetua est quia ex planetis durabilibus et perpetuis est. Et causa corrupcionis ejus est quod existit in aggregacione et segregacione, et separacio pervenit ex eo quod est ex planetis

Form is due to the planets, its change to their interactions.

[1] aliter, secundum augmentacionem et diminucionem.

[2] ex.

[3] aliter, Et omnis natura in ge[neracio]ne consistit ex aliquo tempore. [4] aliter, in ente.

10 humilitatem] habilitatem *V* 27 incessantibus] contrariantibus *V*

contrariis qui non perseverant secundum unum modum. Apparet igitur tibi quod predixi, quod forme celestes quando[1] suscipiunt a luminibus planetarum inter radiorum[2] inter ipsos celos et ipsa elementa, suscipiunt humores que[3]
121 a. habent | suscipere, et existit eorum durabilitas quamdiu

Form which rules humours and complexions.

habet durare ille humor et motus formarum et potencie et opera earundem, juxta complexionem terrenam et complexionem celestem seu firmamenti. Et ille dominatur in operibus cujuslibet forme qui dominatur in quolibet humore, et superat super complexionem, sicut placuit Creatori suo altissimo glorioso et sublimi.

To understand you must know the motions of the heavens

Convenit igitur tibi scire, quod dixi et demonstravi, virtutem (sive veritatem) ejus ut inde cognoscas motum firmamenti et signa ejus et planetas ejus fixos et durabiles; et quod ascendit ex qualibet parte signorum, et ex formis figuratis spiritualiter operantibus; et quod scias motum septem syderum et modum[4] inter illos; et quid significant

and their inter-relations,

hec omnia. Et quod scias motus septem circumstancium, in conjunccione et in opposicione et in recepcione et in triplicitate et quadratura et sextiplicitate, et signum ejus quod amat et signum est Ancheralh, et terminum invencionis, et quomodo accidit eorum pars, accio et impressio et recepcio (sive accepcio) luminis, et earum redicio (sive radia-
121 b. cio), et ascendens secundum certitudinem | cum ipsa complexione, et secundum cursum, et secundum inclinacionem ad dexteram et ad sinistram, et quot denarios pertransivit Sol vel planeta in quolibet signo, cum mediacione et preparacione et infusione sui luminis secundum

and especially the times of the ascendants, and the places.

ultimam certitudinem et insinuacionem[5]. Eti llud quod magis debet sciri est cognoscere horas ascendencium bonorum et reproborum, et quid habet quilibet in longitudine et latitudine et ascendente et apparente.

Cum ergo cognoveris omnia hec, cum hiis que prediximus

[1] aliter, ante.
[2] aliter, intermediorum. [3] aliter, quoniam.
[4] vel, nodum. [5] vel, insidiacionem.

17 septem] xij. *V* 18 circumstancium] errantium *V*

tibi de essencia sive substancia lapidum, et quid recipit quodlibet istorum a quolibet planeta, et quid quilibet planeta in ipsis habet, et si quilibet planeta habeat participacionem quarumlibet ymaginum lapidearum, et quid recipit quelibet istorum in participacione in qualibet ymagine lapidearum et vegetabilium et originalium, et in quolibet membro ex membris suis, necesse est quod agregacio et universitas attribuatur et pertineat magis dominanti super eas. Sicut homo qui pertinet ad Solem in universo secundum majoritatem et pluralitatem | est distinccio (sive diffinicio) pertinens ad Solem. Et similiter originale attribuitur Homini (seu comparatur) universo et plumbum nigrum ad Saturnum secundum divisionem. Deinde similiter quelibet ymago et quodlibet (signum vel) membrum in membris existentibus in ipsa, quoniam omne compositum secundum quod committitur crescit (vel secundum quod metitur cernitur et circuitur).

Any substance, has planets of the same nature, as man, or black lead, or any member of the body.

122 a.

Cum ergo volueris ligacionem planetarum, volve cum adjutorio Altissimi simplicissimi ligacionem illarum potenciarum (seu virtutum) supracelestium sensibilium que operantur in istis corporibus compositis. Tu autem jam novisti quid habet quilibet planeta ex illis in universo et individuis et compositis corporibus in universo et divisione. Considera ergo disposiciones firmamenti in quolibet signo ascendente de suis ascendentibus, et secundum quod durat disposicio ejus et sui ascendentis super ipsum usque ad perfeccionem cujuslibet modi ex modis, scilicet, quis ascendens sit deterior et ymagines ascendentes ex illa parte gradientes spirituales, et compara ad ipsum operacionem ex generacione | humana vel ceterorum animalium aut vegetabilium et lapidum, ita ut sit magister ascendentis in eo. Ita quod Saturnus in opere suo et aspectu suo ad ipsum respiciat benigne, et quod sit infusio radiorum suorum super illa plaga (seu regione) in qua tu existis. Et non transgrediaris locum operacionis (sive applicacionis) tue, et

To make use of the planets, consider the supracelestial influences at work on your object. Consider the disposition of the firmament: let Saturn be benignant

122 b.

10 *post* pluralitate *lege* caput ejus. 12 Saturnum] Solem MS. 23 individuis] divinis MS. 24 Considera. The Achillini text ends here and goes on with p. 114.

and the Moon adjacent,

sit Luna contigua cum duobus planetis, et capiat in ea recepcionem que requiritur ad illam. Et pinge illam figuram ascendentem in firmamento in corpore ex corporibus convenientibus magistro ascendentis, secundum quod apparet ex figura ascendentis, littere cum littera. Quod tu videbis ex operacione (seu apparicione) operum suorum et virtutum, quia multum perficiet tibi; si Deo placuerit.

and make a scheme of the heavens.

Capitulum .23. de ymaginibus et anulis seu incantamentis faciendis.

The amulet of Hermogenes,

Ista ymago seu incantamentum est operacio Hermogenis regis sapientissimi, et est medicamentum quod dat regnum et reverenciam et congregat inclinacionem et obedienciam, et repellit inimiciciam cum timore et tremore; affligit invidos, rigidos et inimicos; et facit | amare et odire, et ridere et flere, ire et redire, et operatur opera mirabilia magna et extranea et stupefaciencia que longum esset enarrare, et habet indagacionem visionum in entibus [1] per viam revelacionis magnam efficaciam.

which brings power and repels enemies,

123 a

I will describe to you.

Et ego ostendam tibi hujusmodi rei artem secundum quod gloriosi philosophi mihi commiserunt scienciam eam, quam qui possiderunt occultaverunt ejus rei scienciam in secretis terre, qui habuerunt revelacionem et prophetaverunt in ipsam et prosperati fuerunt, et anime eorum separaverunt hanc scienciam separatim ab omnibus aliis, et (potencia sive) persona tua preparata est huic secreto semper. Prosperare ergo in ipso et eris securus, cum Dei adjutorio.

Take all metals, in their hours;

Congrega substanciam Saturni et Jovis Mercurii et Solis et Veneris et Martis et Lune, et victoriam ejus qui dominatur in eis, et est tunc racio [2] sicut magister omnium, et pone de ipso auro secundum quantitatem (sive qualitatem) que est in operacione. Et ascendens sit Leo, et Sol sit in signo competenti potens et ascendens et illuminans in .19. gradu, et Homo [3] in Aquario, et prepara Lunam et ymaginem

let Leo be in the ascendant and Sol in a good sign, the Moon in Cancer.

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[1] vel, mentis. [2] vel, Homo (Saturn). [3] aliter, hoc est.

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27 *in marg.* 'Operacio specialis'. 31 *in marg.* 'ut in Capricorno'.

(sive magistrum) ejus ut sit in Cancro,[1] et in | tercio gradu 123 b. ipsius, et Jupiter in Sagittario et Mercurius in Virgine et Venus in Tauro et Mars in Virgine et ipsa prosperata in decimo, et Mercurius in Virgine in honore suo. Et quod magis placet ei, ut adjungatur Luna Soli et Jovi in locis respicientibus (vel recipientibus). Si possibile est tibi, ut sit inclinacio ad Jovem, et illuminacio ad Hominem, et respiciant se ad invicem benigno aspectu, et quilibet eorum emittat radium suum super consortem suum post recepcionem luminis sui. Et cavendum est ne dominus medii celi sit remissus et relaxans cordas, et situs planetarum edificancium sit in gradibus sui ascensus.

Jupiter. Mercury. Venus.

Et cum hoc habueris, collige substancias per dissolucionem in mane diei Jovis in hora attributa Jovi. Deinde facias ex hoc anulum, et pone in eo particulam quadratam de lapide luteo precioso. Et depinge in eo formam leonis, super quem leonem equitet forma (sive ymago) inberbis hominis, et habeat in manu sua, duas alas involutas in capite suo, et inter manus suas septem homines inber|bes[2] habentes 124 a. alas et inclinantes ad ipsum inter manus suas. Deinde depone septem lectos de substancia cujuslibet.[3] Deinde suppone eos sub lapide precioso predicto per ordinem secundum quod sunt. Primus eorum sit Saturnus, deinde qui sequitur usque ad Lunam, post quam depinxeris in qualibet superficie nomen sui planete et illud quod attrahit sua spiritualitas.

Melt them on Thursday in the hour of Jove; make a ring with a square stone; carve on it a young man riding on a lion, holding a two-winged hat and seven winged figures between his hands; make seven settings of each metal under the stone, with the name of the planet on each.

Explicit pars tercia Secretorum Aristotilis de mirabilibus utilitatibus nature et artis et morum. Et incipit pars quarta ejusdem de admirabili eleccione amicorum et bajulorum regis per naturales proprietates corporum et hec vocatur phisonomia.

[1] aliter, Tauro (*recte*).
[2] alia litera .7. homines barbas habentes et alas.
[3] scilicet, planete.

11 *in marg.* 'id est, debilis per motum vel per aspectum'. 18 *lege* in manu sua vexillum, habens. 19 inter manus suas] *lege* et ante eum.

Incipit pars quarta Secretorum in qua docet phisonomia humani corporis, id est, de arte cognoscendi qualitates hominum secundum partes exteriores et de quibusdam aliis.

V *Capitulum primum est de phisonomia in universali.*

Learn to judge men by their outward seemings.

124 b.

ET inter ceteras res illa quam te non oportet ignorare est cognicio quam investigat et cognoscat anima tua per signum nobile cum abstracta fuerit a desideriis | et concupiscenciis, et cum fuerit liberata a nocivis, et hec divisio cognoscitur cogitatu. Cum itaque fuerit anima superans corpus et dominans et ei preponderans, et virtus flammea[1,2] existens in corde non desinat inter ipsam virtutem vitalem et virtutem animalem existentem in cerebro,[3] tunc sublimatur et augmentatur et declaratur intellectus secundum mensuram. Unde si quis querat causam prophetarum qui probati sunt in hoc mundo purissimi intellectus et vere visionis cum miraculis juvativis pre ceteris, ex predictis provenit.[4] Accidit et hoc, ex constellacione geneseos imitantis hanc virtutem generativam.

The soul governs the body,

yet it is influenced by the stars.

Learn the science of physiognomy.

Scias ergo quod oportet te querere signa et vestigia cum pulcritudine nature, scilicet, sciencie phisonomie que est sciencia magna, et per longitudinem dierum sunt usi antiqui hac sciencia et gloriati sunt in inquisicione pulcritudinis nature in hac sciencia | cujus perfeccio attribuitur de numero

125 a.

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[1] id est, calor naturalis.

[2] *Virtus flammea etc.* Tres sunt virtutes in homine, scilicet, naturalis que facit opera nutrimenti, augmentandi et generandi, et hec viget in epate et testibus. Alia dicitur vitalis, que salvat vitam per inspiracionem et exspiracionem et anelitum et motum cordis, et hec est in corde principaliter. Tercia dicitur animalis et cognitiva et hec est in cerebro, quarum trium calor naturalis est instrumentum.

natural, vital, animal.

[3] ita, scilicet, quod hec tria sint in debita disposicione.

[4] scilicet, ex bona disposicione virtutum vitalis et animalis et caloris naturalis.

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5 Book X, Chapter cxii. *V*

antiquorum Philimoni summo doctori et magistro phisonomie, et revera investigabat ex composicione hominis qualitates et naturas anime ejus, et sunt in ipsa historia[1] pulcra et extranea. Constitue ergo te super eam ut intelligas.

Polemon was a master of this science.

Discipuli siquidem Ypocratis sapientis depinxerunt formam ejus in pergameno et portaverunt eam Philimoni dicentes: Considera hanc figuram et indica nobis qualitates complexionis ejus. Qui recipiens composicionem et disposicionem figure comparavit partes ejus dicens: Iste homo luxuriosus est, deceptor, amans coitum. Ob quam rem voluerunt eum interficere dicentes: O stulte, hec est figura dignioris et melioris hominis qui sit in hoc mundo. Philimon autem pacificavit eos et correxit dicens: Hec est figura quidem sapientis Ypocratis, set hec que quesivistis de mea sciencia ostendi vobis, et quod inde sencio secundum ipsam.

The disciples of Hippocrates tried to prove him.

The picture of Hippocrates showed him to be a lecher.

The disciples wished to kill Polemon.

Quando ergo pervenerunt ad Ypocratem, dixerunt ei quid fecerunt et quid respondit eis Philimon et ejus judicium. Quibus dixit | Ypocras: Certe verum dixit Philimon, nec pretermisit unam litteram. Verumptamen ex quo ego respexi, consideravi hec turpia esse et reprobanda, constitui meam animam regem supra ipsam,[2] et retraxi eam ab eis, et triumphavi super retencionem concupiscencie mee. Hec est itaque laus et sapiencia Ypocratis ex ejus operibus, quia philosophia nichil aliud est quam abstinencia et victoria concupiscibilium.[3]

Hippocrates said he was right,

125 b.

except that he had conquered his own disposition.

[1] scilicet, phisonomie.

[2] scilicet, ut ipsa regeret se per viam racionis.

[3] Phisonomia est lex nature in complexione humani corporis et ejus composicione, quia Grece, 'nomos' est 'lex', 'phisis' est 'natura', et hic est magna pulcritudo sciencie et sapiencie et utilitas pro cavendo malos et associando bonos, quia homines libenter secuntur in moribus complexiones suas et composiciones corporum suorum, licet non cogantur. De ista phisonomia Aristotiles et tres alii philosophi collegerunt multas sentencias que in unum collecte sunt in *libro* .3. *auctorum* qui communis est apud prudentes. Alius tractatus specialis est Aristotilis de novo translatus. Multa vero de hac sciencia reperiuntur in libris Aristotilis et Avicenne *de Animalibus*, et in libris medicine. Et cum hec

What is physiognomy.

The leading treatises.

36 3] 4 MS.

Capitulum secundum de phisonomia in particulari.

W

The rules of Physiognomy.

Constitue ergo tibi ex hac sciencia phisonomie regulas et constituciones abreviatas et sufficientes, et det tibi Deus magnum comodum et precium ex nobilitate nature tue et puritate tue substancie.

The signification of a light colour.

Scias ergo quod matrix est embrioni[1] sicut olla ferculo decoquendo. Albedo ergo cum livido colore et flavus color nimis, est signum diminute decoccionis embrionis in matrice. Si ergo accidat cum hoc diminucio in creatura,

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One must be careful in forming judgements of Christians,

but still the science will tell you the natural disposition.

Twin pupils are a very bad sign.

Kings who have to select prelates should know this science.

sciencia sit plena sapiencia naturalis philosophie, et utilissima pro moribus hominum cognoscendis, tamen multum debet esse prudens et expertus qui de his debet judicare, nec de Christianis debet aliquis judicare nisi aptitudinem naturalem ad mores, non quod talis erit, quia gracia Dei gratum faciens potest vincere malam disposicionem animi ad quam excitatur ex complexione et composicione corporis et ceteris proprietatibus, quia tamen omnes homines tam boni quam mali inclinantur omnino vel in majori parte vel in minori, et semper vel pluries vel aliquando, ad eos mores ad quos natura excitat voluntatem, ideo ultra aptitudinem potest sapiens considerare et saltem dubitare racionabiliter de
126 a. eo qui habet naturam valde dis|positam ad malos mores, et cavere ab eo, usquequo cognoverit ejus conversionem ad bonos mores. Aliqua enim sunt signa naturalia ita efficacia quod vix deffliciunt aliqui ab illis moribus ad quos inclinantur, ut qui geminas pupillas habent in oculo uno, vix unquam cavent a sedicione et decepcione, ut probavi in omnibus quos adhuc vidi. Et multa alia signa reperiuntur in hoc libro, et in aliis libris hujus sciencie. Super omnes autem valet regibus et magnis viris ut essent periti in hac sciencia in eleccione amicorum et ministrorum, quia etsi boni primo eligantur ad curias regum et prelatorum cito depravantur per divicias et delicias et honores et munera. Propter quod Aristotiles voluit instruere Alexandrum in hac sciencia utilissima pro omnibus, et maxime pro magnatibus, ut possit cavere a malis et eligere bonos. Ex dictis Philimonis et responsione Ypocratis patet veritas judiciorum phisonomie, quia per hanc scienciam non potest judicare nisi de aptitudine ad mores, non de actuali existencia ; debet tamen sapiens racionabiliter dubitare ubi violenta signa invenit, et cavere donec probet contrarium, sicut prius exposui.

[1] *Marginal note in same hand :* 'Embrio est fetus in utero matris, sive in matrice'.

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6 Chapter cxiii. *V*

diminuetur similiter natura. Fuge | ergo ab omni homine 126 b. livido flavo, quoniam declivus est ad vicia et luxuriam.

Signs of a man that loves and fears you.

Et cum videris aliquem in te frequentantem visum, et cum respicis eum terretur ex hoc et erubescit, et maxime si intus suspirat, et lacrime apparent in oculis: hic diligit te et timebit te. Si vero contrarium fuerit, est invidus et contempnens te.

Beware of unfortunate or deformed men.

Cave et precave ab homine infortunato et diminuto in aliquo membro, sicut cavendum est tibi ab inimico.

The man of even temperament: have him near you.

Equior et temperacior creatura est que convenit mediocritati stature cum nigredine oculorum et capillorum et cum rotunditate vultus. Albedo vero commixta rubedini est bona. Et fuscus color temperatus cum integritate corporis, et rectitudo stature ac capitis mediocritas in parvitate et magnitudine, et raritas verborum nisi cum necesse fuerit, mediocritas in sonoritate vocis et subtilitate. Quando vero natura declinat ad nigredinem et croceitatem, tunc est optima temperancia; creacio hec | placeat tibi, hanc habeas 127 a. tecum. Et ego interpretor tibi quoddam[1] per modum separacionis,[2] tu autem temptabis ipsum in rectitudine intellectus.

Capitulum tercium de capillis.

Much hair and soft.

Capilli autem plurimi suaves significant mansuetudinem et frigiditatem cerebri. Multitudo eciam capillorum super utroque humero significat fatuitatem et stoliditatem.

Body hair.

Multitudo eciam pilorum in pectore et ventre reperta declarat horribilitatem et singularitatem nature, et diminucionem apprehensionis et amorem injuriarum, et sapiencie innuit paucitatem.

Red hair. Black hair.

Ruffus vero color capillorum et pilorum est signum insipiencie et multe ire et insidiarum. Et niger capillus innuit rectitudinem et amorem justicie. Mediocris vero inter duos colores est hominis qui diligit pacem.

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[1] scilicet, capillos et postea alia.
[2] id est, divisionis in multa membra.

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3 Chapter cxiv. *V*   8 Chapter cxv. *V*   10 Chapter cxvi
22 Chapter cxvii. *V*

Capitulum .4. de oculis celestis coloris et nigris.

Great eyes. Medium sized eyes. QUi habet oculos magnos, invidus est et inverecundus piger, inobediens, precipue si sint lividi. Cum vero oculi sint mediocres declinantes ad celestem colorem vel 127 b. nigredinem, penetrabilis | est intellectus, curialis et fidelis. Goggle eyes. Cum vero habet oculos extensos cum extensione vultus, Asses' eyes. talis est maliciosus nequam. Et qui habet oculos similes Shifty eyes. oculis asini, insipiens est, dure nature. Cujus vero oculi Red eyes. moventur velociter et visus ejus acutus, talis homo est The worst eyes. fraudulentus, latro, infidelis. Si vero oculi fuerint rubei, ille cujus sunt est animosus et fortis et potens. Deteriores vero oculi sunt illi qui habent maculas albas aut nigras aut rubeas circumquaque, quia talis homo deterior est omnibus hominibus, et magis reprobandus.

Capitulum .5. de superciliis.

Thick brows. SUpercilium quod habet multos pilos significat inepcionem loquendi. Et quando extenduntur supercilia ad Thin brows. timpora, habens talia est immundus. Cum vero supercilia rara sunt, commensurata in longitudine et brevitate et sunt magna, hujusmodi est facilis impressionis ad intelligendum.

Capitulum .6. de naso.

Thin noses NAsus cum fuerit subtilis, ejus dominus est valde ira-128 a. cundus. Et qui habet longum | nasum et protensum Long noses. ad os, est probus et audax. Nasus vero simus, est impe-Nostrils. tuosus. Et qui habet foramina nasi gravis apercionis vel dure, irascibilis est. Et similiter, qui habet ampla foramina iracundus est. Et cum fuerit nasus latus in medio declinans ad simitatem, est verbosus mendax. Et in nasis ille est magis equalis qui est mediocriter longus, et cujus latitudo The best nose. est mediocris ad extremitatem et ejus foramina non multum magna.

1 Chapter cxviii. *V* 15 Chapter cxix. *V* 22 Chapter cxx. *V*

Capitulum .7. de facie.

FAcies plana carens tumorositate significat litigiosum, discolum, injuriosum, et immundum. Qui vero habet faciem mediocrem in genis et temporibus,[1] vergentem ad pinguedinem, est verax, amans, intelligens atque sapiens, servicialis [2] atque compositus et ingeniosus. A full face. A good face.

Capitulum .8. de ore et labiis.

QUi vero habet latum os, est bellicosus et audax, et est loquax et sepe gulosus. Qui habet labia grossa stultus est. Et qui est carnosus in facie est minus sapiens, importunus men|dax. Et qui habet gracilem faciem est circumspectus in operibus suis, subtilis intellectus. Et qui habet parvam faciem declinantem ad croceitatem est pessimus, viciosus, deceptor, ebriosus. Et qui habet oblongam faciem est injuriosus. Big mouth. Full lips. 128 b. A lean face. A small face.

Et qui habet tempora inflata et venas plenas est valde iracundus. Full temples.

Capitulum .9. de auriculis.

ET qui habet auriculas magnas est valde fatuus, hoc excepto quod erit bone memorie et retencionis. Et qui habet aures valde parvas est stolidus, luxuriosus. Great ears. Small ears.

Capitulum .10. de voce.

ET qui habet grossam vocem et sonoram est bellicosus et eloquens. Cujus vox est mediocris in subtilitate et grossicie est sapiens, providus et verax, justus. A loud voice.

De modo loquendi capitulum.

Qui vero est velox in verbis, et precipue si habet gracilem vocem, est inprobus, stolidus, importunus et mendax. Si vero vox sua fuerit grossa, erit iracundus et precipitans, Hasty speakers

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[1] psalmus, 'et requiem temporibus'.
[2] id est, aptus ad serviendum.

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1 Chapter cxxi. *V* 16 Chapter cxxii. *V* 18 Chapter cxxiii. *V*
22 Chapter cxxiv. *V*

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4 vergentem] vigentem MS. 16 venas] genas MS.

A sweet voice. male nature. Et qui habet dulcem vocem invidus est et 129 a. suspiciosus. Pulcritudo eciam vocis | indicat stoliditatem et insipienciam et magnanimitatem.

Much gesture. Qui vero movetur frequenter et loquitur manuum motu est invidus, eloquens et deceptor. Little gesture. Qui vero est abstinens a motu manuum est perfectus intellectus, bene dispositus et sani consilii.

Capitulum .11. *de collo.*

A long neck. QUi vero habet collum gracile et longum est sonorus in voce et stolidus. A short neck. Qui vero habet collum breve valde est callidus, defraudator, astutus, et dolosus. Qui vero habet collum grossum est stolidus et comestor magnus.

Capitulum .12. *de ventre et pectore et tergo et humeris.*

The signs of the belly, QUi vero habet ventrem magnum est indiscretus, stolidus, superbus, amans coitum. Mediocritas vero ventris et strictura pectoris significat altitudinem intellectus et and of the chest. boni consilii. Latitudo vero pectoris et grossicies humerorum et tergi significat probitatem et audaciam cum retencione intellectus et sapiencie. Subtilitas vero tergi significat hominem discordantis nature. Mediocritas vero pectoris et tergi equalitas, signum est optimum et approba-
129 b. tum. Elevacio humerorum signum est | asperitatis nature
High shoulders. et infidelitatis.

Capitulum .13. *de brachiis.*

Long arms. QUando vero brachia protenduntur in tantum quod manus perveniunt ad genua, significat audaciam et probitatem cum largitate. Short arms. Quando vero decurtantur brachia signum est amantis discordiam et ignorantis.

Capitulum .14. *de palmis et digitis.*

Long palms and fingers. PAlme vero longe cum digitis longis significant dominum suum bene dispositum ad multas artes, precipue cum mechanicis, et significant sapientem in operibus, et signum

4 Chapter cxxv. *V* 8 Chapter cxxvi. *V* 13 Chapter cxxvii. *V*
24 Chapter cxxviii. *V* 29 Chapter cxxix. *V*

est boni regiminis. Grossicies vero digitorum et brevitas significant stoliditatem et insipienciam. Thick short fingers.

Capitulum .15. de pedibus et tibiis, talis et genibus.

PEdes vero grossi et carnosi significant fatuitatem et amorem injurie. Pedes vero parvi et leves significant duriciem. Et subtilitas tibiarum significat ignorantem; et earum grossicies significat audaciam et fortitudinem. Latitudo vero tibiarum et talorum significat fortitudinem corporis. Multitudo carnis in genibus significat debilitatem virtutis et molliciem. | Great feet. Little feet and legs. Great knees.

Capitulum .16. de modo ambulandi sive de incessu. 130 a.

CUjus passus sunt lati et tardi prosperabitur in omnibus operibus suis et factis. Cujus passus sunt breves, est impetuosus, suspiciosus, potens in operibus male voluntatis. Long steps. Short steps.

⟨Capitulum .17.⟩ De homine optime memorie et bene composito per comparacionem ad signa predicta, et de modo judicandi, capitulum .17.

ILle vero homo est optime memorie bene compositus in natura, qui habet carnes molles, humidas, mediocres inter asperitatem et lenitatem, et qui est non nimis longus nec nimis brevis, atque declinans ad rubedinem, mitis aspectus, capilli plani mediocriter, magnorum oculorum et declinancium ad rotunditatem, mediocris et mensurati capitis, magnitudine colli equalis bene dispositi, cujus eciam humeri parum declinant, carentes carnositate in cruribus et genibus, clare vocis cum temperancia in sublimitate (vel subtilitate) et grossicie, longarum palmarum, longorum digitorum declinancium ad subtilitatem, mediocris risus,[1] | et modice derisionis, cujus aspectus quasi commixtus est leticie et jocunditati. The signs of a good body and a good mind. 130 b.

[1] aliter, modici risus.

3 Chapter cxxx. *V* 11 Chapter cxxxi. *V* 16 Chapter cxxxii. *V*

11 ambulandi] ambulandu MS.

Do not judge by one sign, but compare one with another.

Verumptamen non oportet te precipitare sentenciam et judicium tuum in uno signorum istorum, set collige testimonia universorum, et cum tibi dant diversa singna et adversa, declina semper ad meliorem et probabiliorem.[1]

Completus est tractatus de signis et moribus naturalibus hominum ad regem Alexandrum magnificum qui dominatus fuit toti orbi, dictusque Monarcha in Sep⟨ten⟩trione.

This book is not complete: some fools have deleted several chapters. I used to have a complete copy of the translation.

Non est hic liber completus in Latino set multa magnalia deficiunt, ut patet ex Greco et Arabico. Item cum in correccione istius exemplaris habui quatuor exemplaria, scio quod ablata sunt ab eis quedam capitula per stulticiam aliquorum. Et ideo querantur in aliis exemplaribus. Solebam enim habere integrum quantum fuit translatum.

Explicit Liber Secreti Secretorum Aristotilis ad regem Alexandrum, qui liber intitulatur liber decem scienciarum, cum quibusdam declaracionibus fratris Rogeri Bacun de ordine minorum.

Deo gracias.

[1] Unde dicit lex, in dubiis benigniorem interpretacionem facere non solum justius est, set tucius.

The following passages are inserted in the edition of Achillini 1500, *and in those which derive from it.*

Q

(125.G[1].) Sciendum tamen quod scire producere argentum et aurum, verum est impossibile: quoniam non est possibile equiparari Deo Altissimo in operibus suis propriis. Sed cum declarata fuerint hec per accidentia ipsa comprehendentur, sine impedimento, et hec est summa institutionum necessariarum. Conveniens est ergo negociari in accidentibus: quoniam cum iverimus in ipsis directa via, celatur dispositio eorum. Accipe igitur auripigmenti partem: et pone in aceto donec albefiat. Postea pone partem argenti vivi et argenti: et comisce cum oleo ovorum: et pone in crucibulo. Et si egreditur album, sicut avis que vocatur in Arabico achavo et in Hebraico peres, laudetur Deus: si non, reponas quoad convertatur. Et tunc pone ⟨unum⟩ partem super septem Martis, et unum album: et erit laudabile. Post accipe ex 'ros chasag': et facias comedere ex eo peres, quod vocatur achav in Arabico, quousque convertetur viride: et misce secum sciavzag, ⟨et⟩ cera, et omnia cum oleo ovorum: et pone ⟨unum drachma⟩ ex super duo ex sole et luna in duobus partibus, et erit laudabile.

Alchemy is the highest science known only to God. Deal with the accidents, begin with orpiment, treat with mercury and silver, project it on iron and silver, a process of multiplication.

(126. G.) Et facias anulum ex argento et auro puro, et ex acui rubeo, et sculpe in eo formam puelle dischooperto capite, exultantis et fortificantis et equitantis leonem, et salutent coram ipsa sex homines, in mane diei primi, et hora solis et sidere leonis, et Sole in eo: et Luna in gradu decimo celi, quod vocatur seraph in Arabico, et erit rethe a remotioribus ex eo. Portantem hunc anulum honorabunt et voci sue obediens in hoc seculo, et nemo evitabit in manu sua.

A talisman of power which brings honour and obedience.

(127. G.) Bis. Ipsum est ex venenis et magnis: et non apparet in colore suo cum videtur, neque in sapore cum gustatur: quia non est in eo amaritudo sicut in basilisco aut felle, aut sicut syr aurei quod vocatur 'calas'. Inconveniens est igitur quod non sit prope te: quoniam ipsum

A great poison without taste or smell

[1] G refers to the chapter in the Hebrew text published by Dr. Gaster.

for use in war. — Rely on your star — remember you are mortal, — attend to main principles.

est ex instrumentis bellicosis latentibus, quo expellis nocumentum in gubernatione tua, sicut notificavi tibi. At sustentamentum omnium istorum est bonum sydus radicale in quo natus es. Et propter hoc non juvabit aliis acuties neque exercitium. Servies igitur primo Viventi in eternum : et cogita in futuro seculo ac si moriereris cras. Et idoneum est quod facias res civiles ex anima universali : et thesaurizabis in ea particularem. Et intellige in hoc sicut idoneum est, scilicet ex signo magno.

Agriculture is better than alchemy.

(128. G.) Scias etiam quod chimia est scientia que non est vera. Nisi aratio et seminatio : et propter hoc erit amabilior oculis tuis : et ipsis perficies et videbis gubernationem tuam : et exaltabis potestatem tuam, auxilio divino.

I will teach you the virtues of stones.

(129. G.) Sed quoniam in lapidibus sunt proprietates memorande : ideo recordabor virtutum secretarum eorum in quibus invenies utilitatem : et experimentum testatur super hoc.

The virtue of the bezoar — found in China — used against poison. — It brings honour — and preserves from epilepsy.

(130. G.) Lapis bazar est nomen Perse, et 'gubernatio impedimenti', quia stringit ventum. Et est duorum colorum, scilicet crocei sicut cera : et viridis sicut oliva. Et inventio sua est in terris zic (Sin) : et ferunt quod reperitur in felle basilisci. Et preparant ipsum caliditate ; propter hoc est tenuis tactu. Proprietas ipsius est juvamentum contra venena omnium vegetabilium et mineralium : et ex morsu animalium minutorum et punctura. Et cum bibitum fuerit ex eo pondus granorum .xii. mortem vitat, et venenum extrahit per sudorem. Et qui portaverit ipsum ligatum in anulo honorabitur ab omnibus hominibus : et ab omni aspiciente. Et si pulverizetur et spargatur super locum morsus animalis venenosi, abstrahit venenum ; et si putrefieret locus, ipsum liberabit. Et si pulverizetur ex eo pondus, ij. granorum ordei et liquefiat, et projiciatur in ore basilisci, interficit eum. Et si suspenderis ipsum in collo pueri, qui non est passus malum caducum aut aliquod accidens, liberabit eum ab omni accidente.

The virtues of the pearl

(131. G.) Lapis margarite : et ipse est al Jacut in Arabico, est triplicis generis : rubeus : croceus : arenosus.

Quilibet istorum ligatus in anulo, et suspensus collo, intrantis civitatem in qua est infirmitas 'tamon', liberat eum ab infirmitate illa. Margarita rubea in anulo ligata portantis cor fortificat, et eum reddit honorabilem in conspectu hominum. Et qui sculpserit in eo formam leonis: et fortuna leonis et solis, et solem in ipso, et scientias (i. e. radiis) elongaverit ab eo, honorabitur multum, et pervenit ad res suas cito, et cito perficit voluntatem suam, et non videt in lecto somnia timorosa.

preserves from epidemics; an image to be engraved on it.

(132. G.) Zamrad est lapis cujus proprietas est honorare portantem ipsum in anulo. Sedat dolorem stomachi cum suspenditur: et a fortiori si tangat ipsum. Et juvat ad lepram quando teritur et bibitur. Qui ligaverit eum in anulo et suspenderit antequam veniat dolor ventris liberatur ab eo.

The virtues of the emerald.

(134. G.) Alchahat est lapis mollis ethiops splendens, et ejus tactus est frigidus: et portans ipsum non superabitur ab igne neque comburetur. Et prodest ex omni egritudine calida augumentantem: accipiens enim ipsum reperit frigiditatem multam, et prospicitur ab eo sic quod non potest avertere oculum ab eo. Siquis igitur portaverit ipsum in loco evidenti exaltabitur in oculis hominum, et honorabunt ipsum. Et non potest homo preliari cum habente ipsum in manu: sed miratur cum aspicit ipsum. Propter quod operaberis in eo sicut facis in secreto quod notificavi tibi.

The virtues of the agate (?).

(133. G.) Amatistes est 'piram' in Arabico, et est lapis quo magni reges honorantur et thesaurizant ipsum in thesauris suis. Et proprietas ejus magna est, et non est homo potens occidere accipientem ipsum, et ex nunc non est visus in manu hominis occisi. Et cum pulverizetur et potetur ex eo, liberat a morsu scorpionum et animalium minutorum punctura et serpentum occidentium.

The virtues of the turquoise, its wearer cannot be slain, it preserves from poison.

(135. G.) O Alexander hoc sufficit tibi ex lapidibus, et si intelliges in eo et aspicies: Deus per misericordias suas faciet te prosperari in eo quod petiisti ex me.

This is the end of the chapter on stones.

THE TRANSLATION FROM THE ARABIC

THE SECRET OF SECRETS

Translated from MS. Gotha 1869 (A), with variants from MS. Gotha 1870 (B), B.M. Or. 3118 (C), B.M. Or. 6421 (D), Laud. Or. 210 (W), and the Hebrew text of Gaster (H).

Section b p. 36 In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. May God prosper the Commander of the Faithful, and may He help him to guard the Faith, and may He preserve him to cherish the fortunes of the true believers.

Surely his servant has obeyed his command and followed his injunction in studying the work of direction for the management of state known as the Secret of Secrets compiled by the excellent philosopher Aristotle son of Nikomacus of Mahda, for his pupil the great King Alexander son of Philip of Macedonia, known as Dhu 'l-Karnain, when he was disabled by age and infirmity from accompanying the great conqueror during his wars.

Alexander had appointed Aristotle as his prime minister, and esteemed him as a particular friend, since Aristotle was possessed of sound judgement, desire for learning, and clear understanding, and in addition to special brilliant gifts, was versed in the practical and religious sciences; further he was pious, upright, humble, just, and truthful. For this reason he is included, by some learned men, among the prophets.

I have seen it written in several books of Grecian history that God made a revelation to him, saying: Verily I prefer to call thee an angel rather than a man.

Strange and marvellous things are related about him which are too numerous to mention. There are different traditions about his death. It is contended by some that he died a natural death and is buried in his tomb which is well known, while the others affirm that he was lifted up to Heaven in a column of light.

p. 37 By following his good advice and obeying his commands, Alexander achieved his famous conquests of cities and countries, and ruled supreme in the regions of the earth far and wide,

Arabs as well as Persians coming under his sway; nor did he p. 38
ever oppose him in word or deed.

On account of their great mutual friendship many moral letters passed between them. One of them is Aristotle's reply to Alexander. The latter, after conquering Persia and subjugating the powerful ones of that country, had written to Aristotle, saying:

'O my excellent preceptor and just minister, I am to inform you that I have found in the land of Persia men possessing sound judgement and powerful understanding, who are ambitious of bearing rule. Hence I have decided to put them all to death. What is your opinion in this matter?'

Aristotle replied: 'If you are bent upon killing all of them, and are able to do so by reason of your power over them, you cannot change their climate and their country. Therefore conquer them by kindness and benevolence, and so obtain their love,—farewell.'

Alexander carried out these injunctions and made the Persians his most loyal subjects.

Yuhanna ibn al-Batrik, the translator, says: I visited every *Section c*
temple where philosophers have deposited their secrets and all p. 39
the great recluses who, having a fine knowledge thereof, might fulfil my quest, until I arrived at the temple of the Sun which had been built by the philosopher Askalabiyus[1] [Aesculapius] for himself. Here I met a devout and ascetic priest possessed of deep learning and unerring judgement, towards whom I used courtesy, humility, and strategy, till at last he let me see the writings deposited in that temple, and I found in those writings what I was seeking for. Then I returned with my prize to the august presence, and by the help of Almighty God and the interest of the Commander of the Faithful, I set about translating it.

I translated it from the Greek into Syriac and then from Syriac into Arabic. The first thing that I had found therein was a manuscript of the philosopher Aristotle addressed to the Emperor Alexander, as follows:—

I have acquainted myself, O gifted son and just and exalted *Section d*
King—may God lead thee to the path of true guidance and may p. 40
He save thee from being misled by carnal desire, and may He help thee with the reward of the next world and of this one—with

[1] Hermes *IV*.

thy epistle in which thou has kindly spoken of thy regret at parting with me and at my inability to accompany thee; and thou desirest that I should draw out for thee a code which should serve as a guide in all thy needs, and take my place with thee in all thine affairs. Thou knowest that my remaining behind thee has not been because I no longer desire thy company, but that it has been caused owing to my advanced age and infirmity.

As for the matter that thou hast asked for, it is so great that even the bosoms of the living cannot bear it—to speak nothing of lifeless paper. My obligations to thee make it incumbent on me to carry out thy request as far as it is right to do so, but at the same time I conjure thee not to compel me to reveal this secret more than what I am depositing in this book. If thou study it earnestly, I trust there will be no veil of obscurity between it and thee, for God has endowed thee with understanding and gifted thee
p. 41 with rare wisdom. Therefore study its secrets according to my previous guidance and teaching, and thou shalt be rightly guided and achieve thy desire, if God will.

I have darkly alluded to certain prohibited and profound mysteries, lest this book should fall into the hands of wicked and tyrannical men, who might discover what God did not deem them worthy to understand, and thus I should break the covenant which was laid upon me, and betray the secret entrusted to me by God. And I bind thee to guard these secrets, even as I have been bound. And he who betrays its secret shall not be safe from the evil consequences which shall soon overtake him. And may God preserve thee and us by His mercy.

Now I mention to thee above all else that which I wish to make thy intimate friend [i. e. a constant rule of life]: that a king must have two helpers particularly for himself: one of them is intellectual, namely, the strength and composure of his own soul. For the soul is strengthened by the union and composure of its faculties just as a king is strengthened by union of his subjects, and vice versa. Similarly there should be a perfect harmony and co-operation between the potential and actual faculties of a ruler.

This harmony and co-operation among the two kinds of faculties, or between the ruler and the ruled, are gained by two means, one of them is evident and apparent, and the other is secret and
p. 42 mysterious. With the former means I have already acquainted

you, namely: treat them with liberality and make them independent. This is connected with the subject of economy, which will be mentioned in its own place. The second of the two helps is the help given by the moral faculties to the actual ones [i.e., it is a moral means of winning the hearts of the subjects, as the first one was a physical or material one]. And this takes precedence of even the first. This, too, is gained by two means: one of which is apparent and the other secret. The first means of uniting the subjects and creating harmony among the ruled ones is to treat them with justice and leniency. The secret means is one peculiar to the saints and sages whom God has chosen from amongst His creatures and endowed with His own knowledge. And I shall impart to thee this secret as well as others in certain chapters of this book, which is outwardly a treasure of wisdom and golden rules, and inwardly the cherished object itself. So when you have studied its contents and understood its secrets you will thereby achieve your highest desires and fulfil your loftiest expectations. Rejoice in it therefore, and may God help you to attain this knowledge and to honour the masters thereof.

This my book contains ten[1] discourses. *Section e*

Discourse I. The kinds of kings.

Discourse II. On the position and character of a king and the course he should pursue in private affairs and in all administrative work.

Discourse III. On the form of Justice whereby a king is made perfect, and nobles and commons are governed.

Discourse IV. On his ministers, their number, and the way of governing them.

Discourse V.[2] On the king's scribes, their prerogatives and ranks.

Discourse VI.[3] On his ambassadors and their qualities, and the policy to be adopted in sending them.

Discourse VII.[4] On governors of his subjects, and those who are appointed to collect his revenues, and other matters connected with his public offices.

Discourse VIII. On the government of his generals, and other officers of his army and the lower ranks.

[1] seven *W*. [2] IV and V make IV of *W*. [3] VI is V of *W*.
[4] VII, VIII, IX make VI of *W*.

Discourse IX. On the management of war; modes of strategy to be adopted in it. How to be safe from its results. How to meet the enemy and times chosen for doing so. When to set out. The name of the general appointed for forces and for war.

Discourse X.[1] On the magical sciences, the secrets of astrology, the methods of winning over the people, the virtues of minerals and herbs, &c., useful for the above-mentioned purposes.[2]

p. 42 con.

Discourse I.

On the Kinds of Kings.

Section f There are four kinds of kings: 1. A king who is liberal to himself and liberal to his people. 2. A king who is liberal to himself but miserly to his people. 3. A king who is miserly to himself and miserly to his people.

The Rūmi say that there is no harm if a king is miserly to
p. 43 himself but liberal to his people. And the Indians say that it is right for a king to be miserly to himself as well as to his people. The Persians contradict the Indians and say that a king ought to be liberal to himself as well as to his people. But all of them agree to this, that to be liberal to himself and miserly to his people is vicious for a king and corrupts his kingdom.

In this discourse it is necessary for us to explain liberality and avarice, and to describe the evils of excess in liberality and those of deficiency in it.

It has been already explained that all qualities and actions are vitiated as they approach their extremes, and that it is extremely hard to observe moderation in liberality, but that it is easy enough in the case of avarice. Moderation in liberality is to give what is needed and when it is needed, and to help a deserving person to the extent of one's ability. But if one exceeds this one becomes guilty of excess and falls into extravagance. And he who gives what is not needed is unworthy of praise. And he who gives untimely is like one who gives water[3] to one who is himself standing on the bank of a river. And he who gives that which is not needed,

[1] X is VII of *W.*

[2] *W.* adds: And wonderful things of the mysteries of leechcraft, of what expels poisons without requiring the aid of a physician, and many similar useful things. as we shall hereafter mention.

[3] bitter water *C.*

or to one who does not deserve it, is like one who helps his enemy against himself.

But he who gives the right thing to the right person at the right time, is liberal to himself as well as to his people. He is right in his acts and truly politic. It is this one whom the ancients have named liberal, and not he who gives great gifts and bestows rich presents to those who do not deserve them. For such a one is extravagant and spendthrift, for he squanders the wealth of his state.

As for avarice, it is a name which is unworthy of kings and of a state. And when it happens to be the nature of a king, he p. 44
should entrust the gifts of his state to a trustworthy person from among his close friends who would prevent him from being miserly.

O Alexander, I say to thee, that the king who exceeds the bounds of liberality and throws more burden on his state than it can bear, verily he will be the destruction of himself and of his state. As I say to thee, O Alexander, and I have never ceased from saying it to thee, that generosity and liberality and the permanence of a state depend upon withholding oneself from that which is in the hands of the people, and abstaining from their possessions. And I have seen it written in some testaments of Hermes the Great, that the perfect magnanimity of a king, the soundness of his judgement, and the permanence of his good name depend upon his abstaining from the possessions of the people.

O Alexander, the cause of the downfall of the kings of Hanaj[1] was no other than this, that they extracted too much revenue from the people and seized their property. The people took refuge in the Temple of Lightning and asked the help of God. So He sent a devastating wind against the tyrants which destroyed them—and parties rose up against them. And the kingdom became corrupt. And if God had not requited them as He did, their own acts would have brought about the corruption of their state and the downfall of their realm. For verily, wealth is the means of the subsistence of animal life, and an essential part of it. And life cannot exist after the dissipation of that part.

O Alexander, an essential part of liberality and magnanimity p. 45

[1] Hayāhij *W.*

is to give up seeking a pretext to injure another, and trying to find out the hidden faults of others, and to avoid mention of one's gifts.

The perfection of all virtues is to turn away from perpetual fault-finding, to honour the generous, to meet men with a cheerful face and to return their greetings, and to overlook the faults of the ignorant.[1]

O Alexander, I have explained to thee what I have never ceased from explaining.[2] And perhaps this will fix in thy mind what I wish thee to act upon, and which will lead thee to success. Now I tell thee a short maxim which alone would have sufficed to guide thee in all matters temporal and spiritual even if I had not told thee others.

O Alexander, reason is the head of policy and judgement. It is the health[3] of the soul and the mirror[4] of faults. By means of it hateful objects are thrown down and lovable objects are exalted. It is the chief of all praiseworthy things, and the fountain-head of all glories.

O Alexander,[5] the first instrument of reason is the desire of

[1] *W* adds: O Alexander, it is therefore clear and true that liberality and nobility are undoubtedly to be praised, and that meanness and bareness are to be condemned. Liberality is good and beautiful, the most ornamental and lovely thing among sovereigns, and the poet Homer has well said: 'The mean man never attains to eminent rank, but the noble man is raised to high degree.'

[2] *A* reads: what I have not explained to them.

[3] armour *C*.

[4] remover *W*.

[5] *W* reads: The first teaching of understanding is coveting of a good name. Whoever covets it truly, his motive is good, but whoever covets it in excess is blameworthy and to be hated. And men, as it were, are seeking after good fame, and the proof of this is that where they strive with each other for rank in trades, &c., they desire rank only for the good name thereof. Good name is the thing to be sought. And lordship is not to be desired for its own sake but for good name. If lordship is coveted for other causes it produces envy, and envy produces lying, and lying is the very root and essence of vileness, as the Greek poet Homer has well said: "A lie is no more use to a liar than its tail to a fox", and the offspring of lying is slander.

B reads: O Alexander, the first instrument of reason is the inclination towards a good name. And whoever inclines to it through its path, it is desirable for him. And whoever inclines towards it with excess it is detestable and deprecable for him. Because a good name is the object, and sovereignty begets tyranny, and tyranny begets conflict, and conflict begets hatred, and hatred begets quarrelling, and quarrelling begets enmity, and enmity begets strife, and strife begets war and destroys the population.

a good name. And he who considers this as the true object of sovereignty is right and praiseworthy, but whoso loves sovereignty for the sake of power and self-indulgence, is blameworthy and in error. To love sovereignty for its own sake leads to tyranny and injustice, which break the cord of attachment between the ruler and the ruled and destroy the allegiance of the people. p. 46
The loss of allegiance causes enmity. Enmity leads to dissension, dissension leads to hatred, and hatred to war. And war destroys law and civilization. And this leads to the opposition of nature, which destroys everything.

But when the object of sovereignty is glory and good name, it leads to sincerity. Sincerity leads to piety. And sincerity inclines to all praiseworthy things. Sincerity is the opposite of falsehood. It creates amity and high-mindedness. High-mindedness creates courtesy, which leads to friendship, which leads to liberality and mutual exchange of gifts, which lead to the establishment of law and civilization, which are in accordance with nature. Hence it is evident that he who seeks sovereignty with this true aim leaves a permanent good name behind him.

O Alexander, beware of encouraging thy lusts. They are destructive. For lusts lead to the ascendancy of the animal soul beyond what is necessary, so that the mortal body is tarnished and the immortal spirit is afflicted. The encouragement of lust causes voluptuousness, which leads to avarice, which leads to love of riches. Love of riches leads to meanness, which leads to greed. Greed leads to perfidy, which leads to robbery, p. 47
which leads to the loss of honour and manhood, which leads to strife, which destroys faith and love and ruins the world. And this is against nature. And God (may He be praised and exalted) knoweth best.

Likewise it leads to the opposition of nature, which is destructible to the whole affair.

C reads: O Alexander, the first sign of wisdom is to incline towards a (good) name; and, verily, it is desirable for one who turns to it from his path. And it is deprecable and blamable for one who turns to it with excess. For good name is the object, and sovereignty is not desired for itself; verily it is desired for a good name. And the first path of wisdom is a good name. And sovereignty begets the love of a good name. But if it is sought through a wrong way it begets envy, and envy begets falsehood, and falsehood is the root of all vices. And the result of falsehood is calumny. Calumny begets ill-will, ill-will begets tyranny, tyranny begets conflict . . . (as *B*).

Discourse II.

Section 9 *On the Quality*[1] *of the King, and the Nature and Conduct Proper to him.*[2]

The first thing necessary for a king as regards his own person is that he should be known by a distinguished name and addressed as such, so as to be distinguished from all others. For he is an outstanding figure which men point to and the goal they seek.

O Alexander, the king who makes his state subservient to the Law is worthy of his high position, and he who makes light of his high position is destroyed by it.

O Alexander, I say what the philosophers and revered divines whom we follow (the favour of God be upon them) have repeatedly said,[3] that the first quality needed in a king is wholly to observe divine commandments without disregarding or transgressing a single one of them, positive or negative. He must be a public example of temperance and sincere faith, for if he practise hypocrisy his guile will not succeed, since the people are never blind to his conduct. He should overlook shortcomings on the part of his subjects, even though that involves the loss of much money, for thus he will please God and
p. 48 make himself beloved of God's servants. Connected[4] with this is his duty to respect those who represent religion, namely, upright judges and reverend doctors and spiritual leaders. He should be

[1] *W*: ordinance. 'and . . . him', *omit*.

[2] *B*: and his food and drinks.

[3] *B* reads: that the first thing necessary for a king is to adopt for himself the observance of his religion, wholly and perfectly, without wasting anything from it, or from its commands and prohibitions. And that he should show to the public an ascetic life together with the belief in it. Because if there appears in him anything contrary to his belief, his plan shall never succeed, since his nature shall not be hidden from the people. And that he should not be satisfied with the omission of anything from its duties, although it may cost him great wealth. Because through it his Creator will be pleased and he will be loved even by his enemies, &c. [his creatures *C*].

[4] And one of those things which are akin to the above is respecting those on whom falls the burden of government, as the judges, lawyers, and spiritual leaders [and other men of learning *B*]. Then he should be great-minded without being cowardly [fond of war *C*], broad thinking, investigating, always trying to find out the consequences before their happening, kind, . . .

aspiring, without arrogance, broad-minded, of keen discernment, foreseeing the issues of events.

He ought to be merciful and kind. If he happens to fall into anger he should take care not to act on the impulse of the moment without reflection. When passion stirs in him he should suppress it by the power of reason, and rule his own soul. And if his passion is righteous, he should act upon it without showing violence or contempt.

Further he should adorn himself with comely ornament and peculiar dress, which shall attract the eye and delight the soul and distinguish him from other men. He ought also to have a melodious, eloquent, and loud voice. Loudness of voice is advantageous for a king when the occasion comes for rebuke, but he should spare loud words except in rare circumstances, lest he be heard too often, and the people, becoming familiar with his p. 49
talk, despise his authority.[1] It is best that he should speak to no one except in reply. He should rarely converse with his subjects or associate with them, especially with the common people.[2]

How praiseworthy is the method of the Indians, who say in the admonitions to their kings: The appearance of a king before the common people is detrimental to him and weakens his power. Therefore a king should show himself to them only from afar, and always when surrounded by a retinue and guards. Once a year, when the season of assembly comes, he appears before all his people. One of his eloquent ministers stands up before him and delivers a speech[3] in which he praises God and thanks Him for

[1] *B*, *C*, and *W* (generally) read: Similarly he should appear to them clad in rich garments and rare ornaments which should astonish and please their eyes and please their souls, and by which he shall be distinguished from every one else. And it is necessary that he should have a sweet speech, eloquent tongue, and loud voice. Because loudness of voice is good [a weapon *C*] for him at the time of reprimanding. And he should be sparing of speech [of loud speech *C*] except at the time of necessity and in rare cases [in the council-chamber *W*], so that it may not become familiar to the hearers and thus lose its power of inspiring them with fear.

[2] *B*, *C*: And similarly he should be sparing of associating with the people, and should mix with them as little as possible, especially with the common people.

[3] *B*, *C*: How praiseworthy is the custom of the Indians with regard to the policy of their kings, since they say that the appearance of the king before the public degrades him in their eyes and lowers their estimate of his power. And it is necessary that he should not appear to them except at a distance, and surrounded with his retinue and arms in the interval. And

their allegiance to their sovereign. Then he says how well pleasing they are, and how much care is taken on their behalf, and exhorts them to be obedient and warns them against disobedience. Then he reads their petitions, hears their complaints, dispenses justice, and grants gifts to them. He pardons their sins and makes them feel how near he is to the highest and lowest

p. 50 among them. As he comes out among his people only once in a year and does not obtrude upon them, they remember that as a great event which gave them joy and pleasure. They relate it to their relatives and children, so that their little ones grow up to obey and love him. So he is well spoken of in private and in public, and thus he becomes safe from the rising of parties against him and from the intrigues of the seditious. The ambitious will not seek to subvert his authority for that reason.

Also it is necessary that he should lower all the taxes, especially in the case of those who come into his presence as merchants and traders. Because by abstaining from their properties and treating them with justice, they will return more frequently and their number will increase, and his country will be greatly benefited by the variety of goods and men and beasts. And this is the means of the civilization of the country, increase of its revenue, flourishing of its condition, and humiliation of its enemies. Therefore he who abstains from little gains much.

And do not incline to that which does no good and is soon lost. But seek the wealth which is never exhausted, the life which never changes, the sovereignty which never ceases and permanency which never perishes, and a fair name, which is the

p. 51 greatest treasure. Never adopt the habit of the brutes and wild beasts, which steal everything they find, and search for what they have not lost, have little regard for what they have obtained, and follow their lust in eating, drinking, mating, and sleeping.

O Alexander, lean not towards lechery, for it is a habit of swine.[1] And what glory is there in a thing in which the brutes excel thee? It emaciates the body, destroys life, corrupts the constitution (ideals *B*), causes effeminacy. We have likened it [to the habit of swine] and that is enough.

when it is the season of gathering their troops, which occurs once a year, he appears to the general public, and there stands before him the most eloquent of his ministers, who reads an address, &c. . . .

[1] They may excel thee in it, but it is not praiseworthy. *W.*

A king should participate in amusements with his family, for they warm the soul and please the senses and exhilarate the body. When he indulges in them, it should be for three or four days, or as long as he thinks proper. The courtiers should not know of this, but should be given to understand that he is privately engaged in important business affecting them. He should also have trusty emissaries to keep him well informed of important events.

A king should not wholly avoid eating and amusing himself with his favourite courtiers and notables, but it must not be done p. 52
oftener than twice or thrice in a year. He ought to honour those who deserve honour and assign them to their proper rank. In order to show his love for them he should praise them to their faces, and give them each cups of wine and present them with robes of honour as far as he is able. And if the present of a robe make a man faithful to his king, the king may then bestow on him a finer gift and show him a greater affection. He should treat the others in the same way, till he has dealt with them all.

It is also necessary for a king always to have much gravity and to laugh little. For excessive laughing destroys dignity and hastens on old age. All those who[1] present themselves in the king's assembly ought to observe due respect and to show befitting reverence.

If any one happens to commit an act of disrespect he should be duly punished. If he is of high rank, his punishment should be banishment from the assembly till he learns better manners. But if any one is guilty of an offence wilfully done in contempt of the royal presence,[2] his punishment should be death. O Alexander,[3] in the books of the kings of India it is said that the cause of a monarch ruling his subjects, or being ruled by them, is merely a strong or a weak mind. Aesculapius[4] says of rulers: The best ruler is he who resembles a vulture surrounded by carcases, not he who resembles a carcase surrounded by vultures.

O Alexander, loyalty to the king springs from four qualities: p. 53
religious feeling, love, desire, and fear. Remove the complaints of the people, and relieve them of injustice and oppression. And

[1] sit before him to be of grave demeanour and to show their dread. *W.*

[2] *W* inserts: he must be exiled after being punished. But if he is one of the army or of those who bear arms, . . .

[3] *W*: The Indians say: the difference between a monarch . . .

[4] *W*: And they also say:

do not give them an opportunity of speaking [complaint], because when they are enabled to speak they can also act. Therefore strive to stop their tongues and thou shalt be safe from their actions. Know that fear of the king is the peace of the realm. And it is said in the book of the Indians [Persians *B*]:[1] Let thy fear in their souls be worse than thy sword in their hearts.

Verily the king resembles the rain which is a draught from God and a divine blessing, reviving the earth and those who are on it. It may bring inconvenience to travellers, demolish houses, cause lightning and floods which destroy men and animals, and make the sea to rage and bring about severe calamity. But this does not prevent mankind, when they consider the effects of the grace of God whereby vegetation is revived and sustenance comes forth and mercy is shed abroad, from appreciating the favour of God and thanking Him for it.

f. 54 And the king also resembles the winds which God sends as harbingers of His blessings. He drives the clouds by means of them, and causes them to fertilize the fruits and impart new life to mankind; by means of them He makes their rivers to flow, lights their fires, and drives their ships. They injure many things on land and sea, both the lives and property of mankind, and cause plagues and simoons. Men may complain of them to God, but He does not make them cease from the function He has assigned to them.

The same is the case with summer and winter, the heat and cold of which God created for the sake of fructification and procreation; although harm may be done by the heat and cold of these seasons, with their simoons and chills.[2]

A king is in the same position.

O Alexander, inquire into the condition of the weak in thy kingdom, far and near; help them from thy treasury in time of
p. 55 famine. Bestow this office on a trustworthy man who is well acquainted with their misfortune, and who is as anxious to help them as thou art thyself. Because, verily, to remove their wants is to help to preserve the Law, to comfort[3] the hearts of the common people, and to please the Creator.

[1] *IV*: O Alexander, the fear of a king should strike deeper into the souls than his sword into their hearts' blood.

[2] MS. *B* proceeds: To discuss this point at length would occupy too much space, so I mention here only a part of it in brief. (Then follows the section on the four parts of the body, p. 202.)

[3] *IV*: quiet.

O Alexander, be careful of thine affairs, so that thine actions may be right. It is good policy to remove the fear of thy punishment from the hearts of pious and peaceful people and to inspire the minds of suspicious characters and mischievous people with the fear of thy chastisement, so much so that they imagine in their seclusion that thine eyes are upon their actions.

O Alexander, garner up as much store of corn as possible as a precaution against years of famine. And when there is scarcity take out all that thou hast garnered and other people of thy empire have garnered. This will put down every corruption and disturbance, and will help to give permanency to law.[1]

O Alexander, the most emphatic command I give thee and have always given, by obeying which thy rule will be strong and thy sovereignty lasting, is to refrain from shedding blood without cause and from exacting the extreme penalty of the law, for God has particularly warned His creatures against it.[2] Thou mayest act merely on appearance and not know the hidden truth. Therefore try to avoid it as much as possible, and save thyself from error and its fearful consequences. Verily, Hermes the Great is right in saying: When one creature wrongfully kills another, the angels complain to their Maker and cry out: 'This thy servant[3] has p. 56
tried to make himself like unto Thee.' Then if he has killed him in punishment of an act of murder, God[4] replies to them[5]: 'He had killed, therefore he has been killed.' But if he has been killed for the sake of worldly good, or on false suspicion, God replies to His angels: 'By My glory and power![6] I make forfeit[7] the blood of this My slave.' And the angels continue[8] to curse the slayer in all their prayers and invocations[9] so that his life may

[1] *W* inserts here: O Alexander, be strong in thy policy and sound in thy judgement, and seek integrity, so that the people may follow thee. Be gentle and compassionate, but let not thy gentleness and compassion become a mischief [when dealing] with such as deserve punishment and correction. If thou look well to it, pious and righteous men will be safe from thy punishment, while the sinful and corrupt will learn to know thy vengeance. The Hebrew follows the Eastern text generally.

[2] *C*, *D*, and *W* read: for granting and taking away of life is the prerogative of God [Who] alone [knows the secrets of created things]. *W*.

[3] *W*: calls unto Thee.

[4] *W*: God, Whose name be blessed and His glory exalted.

[5] *W*: He slew, and was slain.

[6] *W*: I will not forsake the blood of my servant.

[7] lawful to be shed.

[8] *W*: crying.

[9] *W*: until the blood is avenged.

be forfeited. And if the culprit happens to die[1] a natural death according as is destined, and is not slain, then he draws on himself the wrath of God all the more, and is consigned to perpetual punishment and pain, unless he dies repentant.

O Alexander, in all cases where punishment is necessary, you will find that a long imprisonment or a severe chastisement is sufficient, and this I need not explain in detail. But in exacting penalties, follow the writings of thy divine ancestors and thine actions will always be right. O Alexander, consider thy weakest enemy as if he were the strongest. Do not despise him, because many a weak and contemptible enemy becomes a powerful one, whose treatment is difficult and whose disease is baffling.

O Alexander, beware of perfidy, for it is the nature of foolish children. Its consequence is evil, and although it may achieve some little, it depriveth of much. Thus beware of breaking thy promises and violating thy covenants. For[2] that is an extreme form of treachery, a failure of manliness, and a destroyer of much worldly success, which I have previously warned thee to avoid.

P. 57 O Alexander, thou knowest that on thy right hand and on thy left are two spirits who reckon against thee thy smallest and greatest words and actions, whereof they inform thy Maker, Who knoweth best. Therefore guide thy conduct[3] in the knowledge that all thy secret and public deeds are laid before thy Maker.

O Alexander, what can compel a king to take an oath? There is no hand over a king's hand except that of God. Therefore never make use of an oath, unless even to be cut with a knife would not make you break it. For verily, Inakh, Safoor, and Hananij lost their kingdoms simply through breaking their oaths for the sake of worldly goods, and their government perished through their excessive use of force.

The breaking of agreements in state policy is required in certain situations, as I have before mentioned. This is not the place to explain these, but further on in this book I will refer to them briefly. Ponder them and thou shalt be successful, if God will.

[1] *W*: suddenly, he remains for ever in punishment and pain, because the Lord is wroth with him.

[2] *W*: this is an important part of thy Faith of which I have spoken to thee before.

[3] *W*: so that he who beholds it may rejoice and make it known to thy Creator.

O Alexander, never grieve for what is past, for it is the p. 58
quality of women and weak persons.[1] And show politeness and manliness, because it will increase thy wealth and humiliate thy enemies. And order the people of thy country to read, and study the arts and sciences. And treat generously those who distinguish themselves in learning and science. Read the petitions of thy people carefully and reward their good deeds. This will increase the love of the people to thee, and perpetuate thy name in history. O Alexander, the Greeks did not acquire greatness and fame except by their love of knowledge and their exertions to acquire it. So much so, that their maidens in the homes of their fathers were learned in the rules of their religion and their laws. p. 59
They were acquainted with the situations of the seven planets, the bows of day and night, with the strings of the bows and their quivers, with the courses of the moon. They knew how to make predictions by stars, what hours to choose for various purposes, and other sciences, such as medicine, &c.

O Alexander, do not put thy trust in the service of women, except the woman[2] who values her loyalty above her life, and thy life and thy possessions. For thou art no more than a mere trust in their hands, and thy life is at their mercy. Beware of poisons, for many kings have lost their lives by them. And, in taking medicine, do not trust to one physician, for a single man is liable to be seduced. If possible have ten physicians,[3] and take the medicine regarding the use of which they all agree. Thy medicines should be prepared in the presence of all thy physicians,[4] as well as of one of thy own trusty servants who understands medicines and knows the method of compounding and weighing them. Remember the mother of the Indian king who p. 60
sent to thee some presents, one of which was a girl who had been brought up on poison until her nature had become that of poisonous serpents. And if I had not found it out through my knowledge of the Indian kings and physicians, and had not suspected her to be capable of inflicting a fatal bite, surely she would have killed thee.[5]

[1] *W* adds: Deliberation and judgement will prevent this (if God wills) so that no inconsistency shall appear either in thy words or actions.

[2] *W*: whom thou hast tried and found devoted to thee and what belongs to thee.

[3] *W* adds: but not nine.

[4] *W* adds: thyself being present or one.

[5] *W* reads: she surely would have killed thee by her touch and by her perspiration, and thou shouldst have perished.

O Alexander, guard thy noble immortal soul, for verily, it is a trust with thee. And do not be like the ignorant people of the temples who follow the letter[1] without understanding its meaning.

Section h And if it may be possible for thee do not rise nor sit nor eat nor drink nor do anything except at the time chosen by astrology, for thus you will prosper; because, verily, God has not created anything uselessly. And it was through it that the learned Plato came to know the situations of the parts of compounds with the
p. 61 difference of their colours [qualities] at their conception according to their composing relations. Hence he discovered the art of painting[2] on silk and drawing of pictures. And do not listen to those fools who say that the science of astrology is[3] false and useless, and that one who predicts future events by means of astrology is an impostor. And I say that it is necessary to pay due regard to astrology. For although man cannot avoid his fate, yet by knowing it beforehand he prepares himself for it and makes use of the remedies calculated to avert it. As people provide themselves with shelter, fuel, furs, &c., to defend themselves against the rigours of coming winter. Similarly to meet the hot weather they provide themselves with cooling things. And against the years of famine they collect provisions and store them up; likewise for fear of strife they emigrate to another country. There is another advantage, and that is that when men know of events before they happen, they can ask God to avert them, and before the crisis they may pray to God and humble themselves before
p. 62 Him, and ask for forgiveness and pardon, and repent and fast and pray and beseech Almighty God to spare them.[4]

[1] *A*: who yield obedience.

[2] *W*: the dibaj (fringe) and all the Ideas.

[3] *W*: a secret knowledge which no one can obtain, or the opinions of those who believe that this science gives false prognostications and who do not know that it came first of all by inspiration of God.

[4] *W* and the Hebrew insert here: Alexander, honour thy wazīr more than thyself, and seek his advice in small or in great matters, and keep him near thy council chamber, for he is thy honour before all the nobles and thy friend in private, and thy protector against evil-doers. Take, for example, the king and queen [wazīr in the Eastern game] in chess, when he is with her, and when he is separated from her. This is the best illustration of my meaning; and do not believe that the government can stand without a wazīr, for that is absurd. Do not neglect to ponder on these examples, so that you may be guided aright, if God please. They then proceed at once to Book III.

And the science of the stars is divided into three parts: the composition of the spheres, and the direction of the planets, and the distribution of the stars, and their distances and their motions, and this science is called Astronomy. There is another part of it, namely, the knowledge of how the circling of the spheres and the rising of the constellations indicate events before they happen under the sphere of the moon, and this science is called the Science of Decrees. And the root of the science of the stars is the knowledge of three things: Planets, heavenly spheres, and the Signs of the Zodiac.

As for the stars ('kaukab') known by means of observation, they are one thousand and twenty-nine in number.[1]

I am writing for thee a secret of the science of therapeutics *Section i*
which will make thee independent of physicians in the matter of p. 64
preserving thy health. For the methods of preserving health and soundness of body are the most useful things to be explained and acted upon in the interest of matters temporal as well as spiritual.

No object of this world or of the next can be obtained without strength. And strength depends upon health. Health depends upon the temperance of the four humours. And God has created means of adjusting them, and He has instructed in them His people through His chosen prophets and friends. And the sages of India, Rome, Persia, and Greece have discovered, in this subject, things which no wise man ought to ignore. Because the man who disregards the well-being of himself would do so even more with regard to others. And it is not difficult for sound minds and right judgements to understand those methods by which health is gained and preserved.[2]

The most reliable school among those mentioned above is the Greek school, and whatever I shall write in this book will be according to the theories and beliefs of the Greeks. p. 65

O Alexander, learned men and philosophers agree in this that man is composed of contrary humours, and needs food and drink. If he is deprived of them his life is destroyed; and if he commits excess in them, or eats and drinks too little, he is afflicted with diseases and weakness. But if he is temperate, he is benefited and his body and strength are improved. And all those wise men agree in their opinions that whoever exceeds the bounds of

[1] This paragraph occurs only in *A*.

[2] *A* reads: And if his faculties are clear, his desire is gained.

moderation in filling his stomach or in leaving it empty, or in sleeping or wakefulness, or in motion or rest, or in purgation, or letting blood, or in excessive cohabitation, is not safe from the onrush of diseases and sudden illnesses which I shall describe later. Now I am going to mention some advantages of moderation and evils of indulgence and excess.

It is agreed that whoso guards against excess, and observes moderation and temperance, obtains health and long life. I do not find any one of the ancients disagreeing in this, that all the affairs of this world—power, wealth, pleasure, and sensual gratification—depend upon existence. Therefore whoso loves existence
p. 66 ought to observe all that is useful and agreeable to it, and shun sensual things, not preferring one meal to many meals.

Verily I have heard it related of the famous Socrates that he used to impose great abstemiousness upon himself. A disciple of his said to him: 'O sage, if thou wilt increase a little thy food, it will increase thy strength and vivacity.' He replied: 'O my son, verily I eat in order to live, and do not live in order to eat.' And I have seen that those who are abstemious and temperate, who restrict themselves to vegetable food and practise physical exercise, are healthier in body, keener in appetite, and lighter in motion than these who indulge themselves. Evidence of this is found in the case of people subject to labour and fatigue, Bedawin, and ascetics. And it is a true maxim that the best medicine is moderation in all things.

O Alexander, know that the preservation of health is obtained, by the will of God, by two means: firstly, eating and drinking that which agrees with the individual, the time of the year, the individual's habits, and the customary nourishment by which his body is sustained. Secondly, purging himself of the superfluity which is engendered by destructive and corrupting humours. As
p. 67 the human body and whatever is taken into it of food or drink are gradually dissolved and softened by natural heat, which dries up all the moisture of animal bodies, as well as of the rivers and seas: therefore, if the body is soft and warm, hard food benefits it most, because the solvent power of that body is great, by reason of the openness of its pores and the strength of its heat; but if the body is hard and turbid and dry, then food that is moist and mild is the most beneficial, because the solvent power of that body is weak, by reason of the narrowness of its pores. In order

to be healthy, a man must take what agrees with his normal temperament. If his temperament is warm, moderately warm food will agree with him: and if his temperament is cold, then moderately cold things will be found to agree more with him, and similarly with moist and dry temperaments. And if heat and inflammation grow excessive in the body, either through eating food of an excessively heating nature or through the predominance of passion, then cold things of a contrary nature will be beneficial.

And when the stomach is warm, strong, and healthy, the best food for the owner thereof is coarse and strong food, for his stomach is like a strong fire which can consume great logs of wood. But if the stomach is cold and weak the most beneficial food for it is that which is light and easily digestible. For such a stomach is like a small, weak fire which must be fed at first with reeds and thin sticks.

Symptoms of good health are lightness of the body, cleanliness p. 68
of the bowels, and keenness of appetite. Signs of bad health are: limpness of the body, laziness, puffiness of the face, excessive saliva, heaviness of the eyes, sluggishness of the bowels, sourness, acidity, bitterness, wateriness, bad odour, rumbling and wind in the stomach, loss of appetite. When the disease causing the above symptoms increases and takes strength it brings on piles, yawning, shivering, &c., all of which corrupt the body and destroy the constitution. Therefore one ought to take precautions against them.

THE SUPERIOR DEGREE OF COUNSEL.[1]

It is necessary for thee, O Alexander, that when thou risest *Section k*
from thy sleep thou shouldst take a short walk and stretch thy limbs moderately, and comb thy hair. For verily, the stretching of the limbs hardens the body, and walking[2] drives out the p. 69

[1] Discourse seven, on medicine *W*; Book XII *H*. Since this mortal species is subject to corruption through the opposition of compositions which occur in it, I have therefore decided to set down for thee in this chapter some of the strange secrets of leechcraft, which if thou wilt observe and adhere to them, for it is not necessary for a king to show all his maladies to the leech, thou shalt have no necessity for a leech save in those rare occurrences which no man may eschew. *W*.

[2] In other MSS. and *W*: Combing the hair.

vapours which rise to the head during sleep. Then bathe yourself—in summer with cold water, as it strengthens the body and keeps in the natural heat, and thus helps to increase appetite. Then put on clean garments and clothe thyself in goodly apparel, for the sense of sight[1] rejoices to look thereat and the spirit is strengthened by delighting therein. Then brush thy teeth with a tooth-stick made of bitter-astringent and acid wood and not of an unknown wood. For verily there are numerous advantages in brushing the teeth. It cleanses the teeth and the mouth, melts away the phlegm, frees the tongue and polishes it, creates appetite for food. Then take medicinal snuff, according to the season of the year. For there are great advantages in taking it: it opens the pores of the brain, thickens the neck and the upper arm, beautifies the complexion, strengthens the senses, and prevents the premature greyness of hair.

Then perfume thyself befitting the season: for verily the soul is nourished by smelling sweet scents and pleasant smells. And when the soul is nourished and strengthened the body is also strengthened, and the heart is cheered thereby, and the blood courses through the veins owing to the cheerfulness of the heart.

p. 70 Then put in thy mouth a seed of clove, and a piece of fresh aloes-wood or a piece of nutmeg because it drives out phlegm from the mouth, and removes diseases of the whole of the throat and the mouth.[2]

Then give an audience to the great men, converse with them and exchange courtesies and transact necessary business, either spiritual, temporal, or any other, according to thy wish, and let them not find in thy mouth any evil sayings.[3]

p. 71 And when thou feelest the desire of food at its accustomed time, first thou shouldst perform some physical exercise, as wrestling, hard walking, riding, weight-lifting, or the like.[4] For the advantage of this is to break up the wind, strengthen and

[1] your soul *W.*

[2] And then take an electuary, four drachms of aloes and rhubarb, for the effect is to draw the phlegm from the mouth of the stomach and to expel it and cause digestion of the food, to kindle the natural heat; it also reduces flatulency and cleanses the mouth *W.*

[3] After which speak with thy nobles and discourse with them pleasantly, and judge every one according to his due *W.*

[4] as riding and playing [polo?] *W.*

lighten the body, kindle up the heat of the stomach, and rouse the soul.[1]

Then let there be placed before thee various kinds of eatables, and eat the kind on which thy choice falls and to which thy appetite is excited.[2] Then, if possible, do not exceed the bounds, and do not eat to repletion. That is the desire and aim. But if it is not possible for thee, then observe moderation, and eat at first what should be eaten at first, and last, what ought to be eaten last. As, for instance, when one wishes to take a soft and a binding diet at one and the same meal, he should take the soft first and the binding one afterwards, in order to make a free passage for the food after its digestion; but if the binding food is taken first and the soft one afterwards there is no free passage and both foods become corrupted.[3]

Similarly if he takes at one and the same meal food which is quickly digestible and food which is slow of digestion, he should take the food which is slow of digestion into the bottom of his stomach, because the bottom of the stomach is warmer and stronger in digesting on account of its being formed of a stronger p. 72
and warmer substance[4] and being situated closer to the liver, which is a cooking agent. The upper part of the stomach is sinewy, cold and weak in digesting, so that when food rises to the top of the stomach it is not digested speedily. Another point in eating is to withhold thy hand when there is still some of thy appetite left. Because eating to satiety straitens the soul[5] and causes the food to remain lying in the bottom of the stomach.

He should also restrain himself from drinking immediately after food habitually.[6] Because water taken soon after eating cools the stomach, extinguishes the heat of the appetite, and corrupts the food, and brings on indigestion, which is the worst of bodily afflictions and is named 'deferred poison'. But if it is found necessary to drink water, either on account of the hot

[1] strengthen the joints, melt away superfluities and phlegm, puts the food on the burning fire of the stomach *C.* sensitive soul *W.*

[2] and eat bread evenly raised, perfectly baked *W.*

[3] wasted *W.*

[4] MS. *A*, corrupt, reads: on account of parts of the heat of the flesh mingled with it.

[5] shortens the breath *W.*

[6] until [refraining] becomes a habit *W.*

weather, or the heat of the stomach or of the food, then drink a little very cold water. Then, at the end of eating, drink a little wine mixed with about ten istars[1] of water.

p. 73 When he has finished eating he should walk a little on soft carpets,[2] then lie down on his left side and finish his sleep. Because the left side is cold and needs something to warm it. And if one feels heaviness in his lower ribs, he should wrap up his stomach with some heavy and warm cloth, or take in his arms a girl of warm body.

And if he feels sour belching, which is a sign of cold stomach, he should drink hot water with oxymel. Then he should vomit. Because it is very injurious to the body to keep back the corrupt food in the stomach.

And movement before food kindles up the fire of the stomach, but the same after food is bad, because it carries down the food before it is fully digested, and thus leads to stoppages and diseases.

p. 74 Sleep before food emaciates the body and dries up its moisture. But sleep after food is nourishing and strengthening. Because in sleep the outer part of the body becomes cool, and the natural heat which is diffused throughout the body is collected in the stomach and around it, and helps the stomach to digest the food. And the external part of the body is left free for its natural functions and the vital energy takes rest. Thus they [the wise] esteem the evening meal more than the mid-day meal, for the mid-day meal has to cope with the heat of the day and the preoccupation of sense and soul with what the individual listens to, or engages in, or thinks about, and with the fatigue and movement around him. So that the natural heat is diffused over the exterior of the body and the stomach is thereby hindered from digesting the food. But the opposite of this is the case at the evening meal, for it is accompanied by rest of the body and stillness of senses and soul and the coolness of evening, which drives the natural heat into the interior of the body.

p. 75 Beware of taking nourishment a second time before thou hast become certain that the first meal is fully digested. Thou wilt know this by a feeling of appetite, and the collecting of saliva in

[1] An istar = $6\frac{1}{2}$ drachms.

[2] and softly, and lie down and sleep for an hour on the right side and then turn on to the left *W*.

the mouth. Because whenever one eats food before the body requires it, the food meets with the natural heat in the state of the latter's quiescence, as fire is quiescent under ashes. But when a man takes food in a state of true appetite and need for it, it meets with a strong natural heat like a fire which is kindled up.[1] And as soon as thou feelest hunger thou shouldst hasten p. 76 to take thy meal, for, if thou delayest, the stomach will consume the superfluous matter of the body, will collect foul humours and cause noxious vapours to rise to the brain. And if food is taken after that, it gets spoilt and does not do any good to the body.

And if any one who is in the habit of eating twice a day p. 75 changes that habit and begins to eat once only it does him great harm. Just as if one who is in the habit of eating once a day begins to eat twice, his food does not agree with him. Likewise if one changes the usual time of his meals he soon finds the evil of doing so.

Habit is second nature. Therefore if through some cause it is found necessary to change a habit, it is imperative that it should be changed little by little, one degree at a time.

And it is also necessary for us to mention in this chapter, the p. 76 four seasons and the changes of the weather. The first of the four is

The Spring Season.

When the sun enters the first degree of Aries it is the beginning of the spring season. Its duration, according to the opinion of authorities on the subject, is 93 days, 23 hours and $\frac{1}{4}$[2] of an hour. It begins on the 21st of Azar (March) and ends on the 23rd of Haziran (June). The beginning of spring is called the vernal equinox, because the days and nights become equal in all climes. Weather becomes temperate and the air balmy. Breezes blow, snows are melted, streams flow, rivers become full, wells gush forth. Moisture rises to the branches of trees, vegetation grows up; corn, grasses, and herbs grow up. Trees bear leaves and blossoms. Flower buds open up and the earth becomes green. Living things come into being, beasts of the field multiply, udders flow with milk, animals disperse over

[1] will hurt him by extinguishing the natural heat, whereas if a man eats when he is hungry he will find the natural heat as burning fire *W*.

[2] *C*: $\frac{3}{4}$.

the country from their nests. The life of the dwellers in the deserts becomes pleasant. The earth is bedecked and ornamented, and the world becomes like a young girl adorned and resplendent before the onlookers.

p. 77 This season is warm, moist and temperate, and resembles in its nature air, and stirs the blood. In this season it is useful to take moderate food, as chickens, partridges, and pheasants, half-cooked eggs,[1] lettuce, endive, and goats' milk. No other time than this is better for bleeding and cupping. And it is allowable to commit excess in this season in cohabitation, use of purgatives, and baths and bringing on perspiration.[2] Any error in medical treatment, purging, or bleeding, which may take place at this time the season safeguards it and sets it right, if God Almighty pleases.

The Summer Season.

When the sun enters the first degree of Cancer it is the beginning of the summer season. It lasts for 92 days and $23\frac{1}{3}$ hours. It begins on the 23rd of June (Haziran) and ends on the 24th of September (Ailul). At this time the length of the day and the shortness of the night reach the limit in all climes. Thenceforth the day begins to grow shorter and night longer, heat becomes equal, the air becomes warm, hot winds blow, water decreases, vegetation dries up, the strength of bodies
p. 78 increases, and the earth becomes like a bride laden with riches and having many lovers.

This season is hot and dry, and spleen predominates in it.[3] Therefore one ought to avoid all hot things, whether food, drink, or medicine.[4] And one ought to beware of over-eating, that the heat of the stomach may not be quenched. One should eat all kinds of cold food, such as veal cooked with vinegar, gourds,[5] fat chickens, and fine flour,[6] and of fruits, sour apples, plums,[7] and sour pomegranates. And the scents and oils used of a cold nature. Iced water should be drunk. Extreme moderation should be observed in cohabitation. Bleeding and cupping should be avoided. But the bath may be used. It is good

[1] new-laid eggs.

[2] and purging medicine *IV*.

[3] and it stirs up the red gall *IV*.

[4] and spices *IV*.

[5] cucumbers *IV*.

[6] fattened on barley meal *IV*.

[7] nuts *IV*.

to vomit in this season, as the superfluous matter of the body increases in summer and rises to the top of the stomach. Purgatives and gargling should be avoided except when quite necessary.

The Autumn Season.

When the sun passes into the first degree of Libra it is the beginning of autumn. It lasts for 88 days and $17\frac{1}{12}$ hours, beginning on the 24th of September (Ailul) to the 22nd of December (Kanun 1).

At this time the nights and days become equal for the second p. 79
time, and thenceforth the night begins to grow longer than the day. Summer is at an end and autumn has come. The air is cool, north winds blow, the season changes, waters lessen, rivers dry up, and springs subside, vegetation is dried up, fruits are exhausted, men garner grain and fruit, and the earth loses its beauty. The insects die out, reptiles retire into their holes, birds and wild beasts disappear in quest of a warmer climate. Provisions are collected against winter. The weather changes, and the earth becomes like a mature matron who has passed the years of her youth.

This season is cold and dry, and suits such foods and drinks as are[1] warm, soft, and moist, as chickens, mutton,[2] sweet grapes, and well-matured wine. Such things as produce black bile[3]
should be avoided. Motion and cohabitation and gargling may p. 80
be indulged in in this season more freely than in summer, but less than in winter and spring. The frequent use of the bath is recommended.[4] If one feels the necessity of vomiting one should do so either in the middle of the day or at its end, as superfluous matters of the body collect at these times.

As purgatives he should take Garikun (Agaricum) and Aftimum (dodder of thyme) and anything that drives out choler and softens the humours, by the help of Almighty God.

The Winter Season.

When the sun enters the first degree of Capricorn it is the beginning of winter. It lasts for 89 days and $14\frac{1}{12}$ hours, from the 22nd of December (Kanun 1) to the 21st of March (Azar).

[1] and it stirs up the black gall. Abstain from eating or drinking anything cold and dry, eat and drink only what is *W.*

[2] lamb *W.*

[3] melancholy *W.*

[4] and take purgings if need be *W.*

At this time the length of night and the shortness of day reach to their extremes once again, and the day begins to grow longer than the night. Autumn is finished, winter has arrived. Cold is intense, bitter winds blow, the leaves of the trees fall, most of the vegetation dies, and most of the animals take refuge in the belly of the earth and in mountain caves from the severe cold and the frequent storms and rain. The heavens grow dark and the face of the earth frowns. The animals grow thin, bodies grow weaker, and the world becomes like a decrepit old woman to whom death draws near.

This season is cold and moist, and phlegm predominates in it. Therefore, in the matter of nourishment and medicine, it is necessary to seek after warm things,[1] such as young pigeons,
(Not in A) flesh of a young goat not more than one year old,[2] roast meat,
p. 81 hot spices, figs, walnuts, garlic, thick red wine, hot electuaries
(Not in A) and sweetened compounds. Hot clysters may be used. Purgatives, bleeding, and cupping should be avoided, except in case of necessity. Then the air should be changed and heated, and first of all hot drinks should be taken and the body rubbed with warm oils, and one should enter a temperate bath. In this season even excess in exertion, cohabitation, and eating does not do much harm.[3] Because the natural heat withdraws itself into the lower part of the body and the digestive power increases. Stomachs remain cold in spring and summer because then, the natural heat being feeble, the digestive power decreases in those seasons and the humours are active.

Section m The following is the chapter of the Parts of the Body. Know
p. 83 that the body has four parts.

First, the Head.

When superfluous humours collect in it, the symptoms of this are: darkness in the eyes, heaviness of the eyelids, throbbing of the temples, sounds in the ears, and stuffiness of the nostrils.
p. 84 Therefore whosoever feels those symptoms should take some Afsintin (wormwood) and boil it in sweet wine with roots of Saʿatar (marjoram) until half of the water is evaporated. Then he should rinse his mouth with it every morning until relief comes. He should also eat with his food two drachms of prepared

[1] and spices *IV*. [2] and young lambs *IV*.

[3] *C* adds: because stomachs are warm in winter and spring, and sleep is longer in these seasons, for the nights are long.

mustard, and some dust of Iyārij (an aperient) which contains 12 'ukar (medicinal plants) when he goes to sleep.

Because if he disregard those symptoms, he may be attacked by deadly diseases like the corruption of sight, swellings, pain in the throat, and headaches.

Second, the Chest.

When superfluous humours are collected in the chest, the signs of this are: heaviness of the tongue, acidity of the mouth, sourness of food on the top of the stomach, pains in the temples[1] and coughing. So one must lessen one's food, and vomit. After vomiting one should take bitter water of roses with aloes and mastic. After food one should take a walnut-sized[2] piece of the electuary 'al-anisun al Kabi' (aniseed) made with aloes and galangale. Whoever disregards this will suffer pleurisy, pains in p. 84 end. the kidneys, and fever.

Third, the Stomach. p. 86 *note*

When superfluous humours are gathered in the stomach the signs of this are windiness, pains in the knee joints, shivering, feverishness, and winds.

Therefore whoso feels these symptoms should use a purgative of some soft aperient medicine and should follow the treatment we have prescribed for the chest.

Because if one disregard them one may be afflicted with pain in the hips and the back and joints, disordered stomach, bad digestion, and stoppage of the liver.

Fourth, the Bladder. p. 87

When the superfluous humours are collected in it the signs are: loss of appetite, eruptions, and pimples on the testicles and the privy parts. Therefore he who suffers this ought to take celery and fennel and their roots, and soak them in white sweet-smelling wine, and should partake of it every morning mixed with water and honey before breaking his fast. He should abstain from over-eating. For, whosoever disregards these symptoms will be afflicted with the pain of the bladder and liver, and stopping of the urine and the anus.

[1] *B*: upper arm (or side).

[2] By 'walnut-size' the physicians mean 4 mithkal (1 mithkal = $1\frac{1}{7}$ drachms).

Section n It is written in an ancient book that a certain king called together the physicians of Rūm, India, and Persia, and ordered them to name some medicine whose habitual use would be beneficial and curative for all sorts of complaints. What the Rūmi chose and advised was the drinking of draughts of hot water every morning. The Persian sage advised 'Al-Harfā', that is, cress. And the Indian advised Indian Myrobalan.[1] And I say to thee, O Alexander, whoever finds himself at night without a weight of food on the stomach need not fear apoplexy and pain in the joints. And whoever eats every morning seven mithkals of sweet currants, need not fear any of the phlegmatic diseases, his memory will be strengthened and his intellect sharpened.

And he who eats in winter some sweet Hiltītah (Assafœtida) free from bad smell, he shall be safe from intermittent fever, and winds in the side.

p. 88 And whosoever eats two walnuts with three seeds or grains of figs and some leaves of the herb rue, he shall be safe for that day from poison.

O Alexander, preserve, and take care[2] of thy natural heat. Because as long as there is temperate heat and moderate moisture in man, the heat feeds upon the moisture, and verily that heat
p. 89 is the principle of life and health. Man becomes old and his body grows weak from two causes: firstly, from[3] natural decay which is unavoidable, and is brought on by the predominance of dryness in the body and corruption of the being[3]. And, secondly, accidental decay, which is brought on by accidents, diseases, or evil treatment.

Diet.

Section o Know that foods are of three kinds: light, heavy, and moderate. Light food creates pure, healthy blood. Such foods are: flour, fat chickens, and eggs. Heavy food is useful for people of hot temperaments and those who have to perform hard labour before and after food. Moderate food does not create obstructions or dangerous superfluous humours or chyme. Such foods are: fine wheaten bread, kids, sheep one year old, and in short, all meats that are hot and moist. But they differ from each other

[1] *C* reads: Black Myrobalans. *B* omits the whole passage.
[2] of this glorious temple and *W inserts*. [3] contraction *W*.

according to the manner of their cooking. Roasted meat derives strength, heat, and dryness from the fire, unless it is treated with something which will break up its heat, as vinegar, lemon, tamarind, and cherries.

Similarly fried meats must be treated with spices. Therefore follow this analogy and oppose hot with cold and vice versa (i. e. in seasoning food), except in the case when you desire hot food to counteract a cold temperament or to excite carnal appetite.[1]

Some flesh soon changes into black bile, as the flesh of the cow, p. 90
the camel, the mountain goat, the Kata (sand grouse), and the fat goat, because they are heavy (or coarse) and dry by nature. But the flesh of young castrated animals which feed on moist green pasture and frequent the shade is the most tender and beneficial.

The same may be said about fish. Those which have a small body and thin skin, which feed sparingly and live in sweet and flowing waters, are lighter and better than those which live in the salt sea and in lakes. Large fish with large body and much fat ought to be avoided, as poison is to be expected therefrom. And I have prepared a book on the subject of diet and medicine for the use of the great and the common alike. It may be consulted for further information.

Waters.

Water is necessary for every living being and vegetable. And I have already informed thee that all waters, sweet and bitter, from sea or lakes differ according to district and the [nature] of the earth and the rising of the sun and moon, and I have explained the cause thereof more than once. The best and the lightest water is that which is distant from buildings and is obtained from springs. When the land is flat and bare and contains little putridity, its water is good and light; but the water found in wooded and tainted country is heavy and injurious. One should avoid water in which is green slime or worms. The best water is that which is light, colourless, pure, and of good odour, which soon becomes hot or cold, and which pleases nature, and that which flows from the west to the east.

[1] The next two lines of *A* are obscure: There is no harm in using this and also the foods which are cooked along with the flesh; and a man of experience and intelligence need have no fear of taking them.

p. 91 Salt, turbid, and noxious waters dry up the stomach and sometimes bring on diarrhoea. The water of melted snow and ice is also bad and heavy. Similarly water situated in barren lands and marshes is noxious and heavy, because it remains stationary, and the sun always shines on it. Such waters create bilious humours, enlarge the spleen and the liver. Similarly with water which springs from hot and noisome lands, because it contains particles of those lands. Drinking cold water before food emaciates the body and quenches the fire of the stomach. Drinking it after food heats the body and increases phlegm, and if taken in excess it corrupts the food. Cold water should be drunk in summer and hot water in winter, for hot water in summer destroys the stomach, just as cold water in winter extinguishes the heat and corrupts the organs of the chest and liver (B). Tepid water drunk in winter extinguishes the heat and corrupts the organs of the chest and liver and often kills suddenly, the reason whereof would take long to explain (A).

Wine.

Wine made from mountain grapes is dryer than that of grapes growing on level and well-watered lands. The former is useful for aged people and those possessing moist and phlegmatic temperaments, and is hurtful to young people, and those having warm temperaments, and thin people. Wine made from grapes growing on well-watered plains is good for young people, and those having hot temperaments. Wine, as it grows older, increases in heat and softness and is useful for removing cold and thick humours. And the more it increases in redness of colour and in thickness the more it acquires blood-creating powers. And the more bitter, strong, and sour it is, the less blood-creating and nutritive qualities it possesses, and it resembles medicine more than food. And habitual use of wine is highly injurious to every sort of men. And sweet wine corrupts and
p. 92 destroys the stomach and produces rumbling and winds and obstacles.

And the best and the most wholesome wine for all temperaments is that which comes from lands midway between mountain and plain, and between the moist and the dry, whose grapes are sweet and well ripened, and not so much pressed as to give out the juice of the skin and stones, and the acidity of the tendrils:

wine which is of a golden colour, between red and yellow, the dregs of which are settled down, and the particles clear. Such wine as possesses these qualities do thou partake of moderately, according to the time of the year and the constitution, for it washes the mouth of the stomach, strengthens natural heat, helps digestion, prevents the food from getting corrupted, and brings it into motion, cooks it, and conveys its purity to the various organs and cooks it in them, until it becomes essential blood. Then from it there rise to the brain temperate and moist vapours, so that harmful diseases are removed from the brain. And, together with all this it cheers the heart, beautifies the complexion, frees the tongue, emboldens the timid, impels to all which is robust and joyful, and inspires to every noble virtue and praiseworthy quality.

But excess of it, and lack of moderation and habitual drinking to such an extent as to subvert reason and take away sensation, destroys the brain, weakens the vital energy, corrupts the intelligence, causes lapse of memory, and weakens the five senses which are the main support of the body; it destroys the appetite for food, weakens the sinews which support the body, and produces tremors, weakness of sight, and paralysis; it excites the heat of the liver, and thickens its blood, and blackens the blood of the heart, from which arise melancholy, quivering, fear, and p. 93
imbecility; it spoils the complexion, weakens the bladder, and relaxes the muscles surrounding it, and the muscles of the stomach; it corrupts the temperament, makes coarse the epidermis, and brings on elephantiasis.

It is a kind of poison, therefore never take it to excess. It is like rhubarb, which is the life of the liver and possesses many virtues, as is mentioned in the registers, and yet it is the most deadly poison for one who does not know the right quantity to be used. But just as serpent's poison is the supreme antidote [to snake-bites], so in wine there is a cure for many severe pains and troublesome ailments.

And never incline to drink sweetened vinegar on an empty stomach, especially when thou feelest a preponderance of moisture and phlegm in thyself.

To Homer is attributed a wonderful saying concerning the drinking of wine; he says that it is strange that a man who drinks grape wine and eats wheat bread and mutton, and never commits

excess in eating, drinking, cohabitation, and phys cal exertion, should ever fall ill or die, or become old.

And for one who happens to have indulged excessively in drinking it is advisable to bathe with warm water, then he should go to a running stream, and sit down under an awning of willow and myrtle on the bank of the stream or clear lake. Then he should sprinkle rose-water[1] on that awning, and rub on his body
p. 94 pounded sandal-wood. Then he should be fanned with fans made of cooling branches. This will cure him of the effects of excessive drinking.

Likewise he who intends to give up drinking wine should not discontinue it quite suddenly, but should lessen it gradually, and change it for currant wine, always mixing it with an increasing quantity of water, until his drink becomes pure water; and in this he ought to persevere. By such treatment the constitution will be safe from dreaded ailments, by the power of Almighty God.

Section p O Alexander, of the things I have mentioned there are some which strengthen the body and others which weaken it; some fatten it and others make it thin; some moisten it and the others dry it; some invigorate and cheer it, others cause languor and lassitude.

Of those things that strengthen the body are: fine wholesome food, and light agreeable substances, taken in their proper season and when the need arises, as before mentioned (if God will).

And of those that fatten and moisten the body are: ease and comfort, sweet perfumes, eating Asfedbajat[2] and heat-producing sweet and fresh foods, and drinking[3] sweet syrups (wines), and fresh honey with walnuts, in times of coolness without committing excess in any of them; sleeping after food on soft beds, in cool places in summer and warm ones in winter; bathing in warm and
p. 95 sweet water, without staying too long in the bath, for that lessens the moisture of the body; smelling sweet-scented plants according to the time of the year, e.g. jessamine in winter, roses and violets in summer; using an emetic three times[4] in a month, especially in summer, for vomiting cleanses the stomach and frees it from injurious matter and corrupting moisture, which being expelled,

[1] and the water of myrtle *A*.

[2] A kind of dish made of meat, onions, butter, and cheese, &c., and milk and bread. *Hebrew* Aspidbag. Asfanakh *W*.

[3] of warm milk and *W*. [4] once *W*.

natural heat becomes more powerful to digest food, so that the body becomes fresh and full. In this course a man will derive assistance and increased benefit from joy, wealth, honour, victory over enemies, realization of hopes, amusements, seeing beautiful faces, reading interesting books, listening to pleasant songs, the joking of friends, the stories told by agreeable companions, listening to interesting discourses and amusing tales, wearing coloured garments of silk and linen, habitual use of tooth-brushes, and scented oils according to the time of the year. All these things are especially befitting for kings, because they are easily procurable by them.

As for the things that emaciate and dry up the body, they are the contrary to all those mentioned above, namely, insufficient eating and drinking, excess in exertion, movement in the sun and heat, long sleeplessness, sleeping with an empty stomach on hard beds (for heat counteracts the moisture of the body and dries it up); bathing in sulphurous or salt water, or cold water in winter; eating pungent and fried[1] foods in summer, and drinking old unmixed wines. Likwise excess in purgations, bleedings, and cohabitation. And anxiety, poverty, and fear.[2] p. 96

(Those things that fatten and cheer and add flesh to the body are: moderation in cohabitation; eating wheat bread, and the flesh of fat chickens. Vomiting every morning with sweetened vinegar, in summer; riding on easy-paced cattle and drinking out of new and sweet-smelling vessels. And those that emaciate and weaken the body are: excessive anxiety and sorrow, wakefulness, occupation of the mind, excessive love, sleeping on the ground, sleeping with old women, and looking at disagreeable and unavoidable sights. But the worst of all are evil thoughts and pursuing anxieties.)[3]

The Bath.

O Alexander, the bath is one of the most wonderful things *Section 4.* of the world, and one of the most peculiar things which the wise have invented and prescribed for comforting and cleaning the body, relaxing the limbs, opening the pores of the body, dispelling

[1] pickled *W*.

[2] All these produce leanness of body. So act thus and avoid it. If God will. *W*.

[3] This section occurs only in *A*.

vapours and superfluities of the body, cleaning the skin from the remains of sicknesses and pains. And this is because it is built according to the four seasons of the year. The cold part of it stands for winter, the one next to it for autumn, the one next to that for spring, and the one next to that for summer. The right method of using the bath is for the bather to stay for a while in the first apartment, then pass on into the second apartment and wait there for a while, then enter into the third and fourth and so on. And so also he should do when he comes out; he should remain in each apartment for a space, and not plunge from intense heat to intense cold or from intense cold to its opposite. This bath should be built on a raised ground, and should be airy and should have fresh water.

There should be various censers in it in which incense suiting the time of the year should be kept burning, i.e. in spring and summer nadd (ambergris) of treble or quadruple mixtures, and in autumn and winter nadd of two mixtures and fresh aloes-wood. Then he should sit down on a soft cushioned seat, and should remain seated there until his body perspires freely. Then he should rub and wipe his body from time to time, with a clean linen towel. And when that is done sufficiently he should remove to the bathing place and enter into it.

p. 97 And when the heat gets too strong he should apply to his body one of the cleaning and purifying soaps according to the time of the year. As, for instance, in spring and summer cleaning soap made with sandal-wood and myrobalans, and in autumn and winter a soap made of myrrh and the juice of beet. Then he should pour over his head tepid water. Then he should submerge his whole body until all the dirt and filth is removed from it. Then he should anoint himself with some oil befitting the time of the year, and clean some of it off with some washing earth or any kind of suitable paste. Then he should enter the other tank next to the first by two degrees and should emerge gradually, as we have directed before. Then he should sit down in the next compartment until his body be dried with towels perfumed with rose water and ambergris. In summer he should wipe his body with soft linen towels, and in winter with those of cotton and silk.

f. 23a B If he feels thirsty he should drink about half a raṭl[1] of the

[1] Raṭl is a pound of 12 ounces.

wine of roses and apples mixed with cold water. Then he should stretch himself a little while looking at some beautiful picture, well fashioned, or, if possible, at some beautiful human being, which is better still. Then he should apply sweet scents to his face and clothes.[1] After this he should take his meal, and drink the usual amount of mixed wine, but not so much as to cause inebriety. Then he should smell sweet scents according to the time of the year. Then he should go to a soft bed and invoke sleep. But he should avoid cohabitation that day and night lest this should undo all that we have spoken of, which is most beneficial for health, strengthening to the body, restoring power, and preserving fitness. Then he should obtain restful sleep and pass the remainder of the day in comfort and peace. This prescription will give the body an excellent development.

If he happens to be an old man and coldness preponderates in his system, he should stay a shorter time in the bath, but if he happens to be young, and heat and dryness preponderates in his temperament, he should stay there only as long as his body gets wet and receives the moisture of the bath.[2]

And if he happens to be middle aged he should observe a middle course between the two, and use temperate water for washing his body.

This is, O Alexander, what will make thee independent of *Section r*
every physician if thou dost understand its meanings and find out p. 98
its virtues. The strength or weakness, seriousness or triviality of diseases and their developments are caused by their crises and the influences of the moon, on whose strength or weakness depends the strength and weakness of the disease. And in the Not in *A* or
pulse there is a powerful indication of the state of health. And *B*, only in *C* as far as
no one can learn this art except by learning and practising the p. 212, l. 31
feeling of the pulse. And I have noted down its theories in another book. In urine there is another proof of the state of health, an account of it will be found in my book on that subject.

[1] *B* omits.

[2] *C* adds: And he should pour plenty of tepid water on his body. And it is desirable for a man of phlegmatic temperament not to take a bath except on an empty stomach, and he should dip himself in water in which sweet marjoram, Shih (the wormwood of Pontus) Gar (laurel) and Kaisum (sothernwood) are infused. And he should anoint himself with warm oils. But he whose temperament is warm should follow our foregoing directions. God willing.

Therefore look for it there, as thou shouldst consult my book on compound medicines, and drinks, oils and ointments, according to the Schools of Rome, India, Persia, and Greece, and what I have found out from my own experience and my knowledge: there is no need to repeat them here. But since I have decided to reveal to thee every secret that I know, I will not hide from thee this medicine which is known as the 'guard', and it is the 'mysterious treasure of the sages'. I do not know who discovered it at first. Some say it was revealed to Adam.

There is another party which thinks that Ascalanus, Nasiurus, Ailin, Dunntanas, Kutarus discovered it,[1] and the philosophers of the eight Great Sages, who fathomed the hidden sciences of the secrets of nature and metaphysics, of the void and full, and the extremes. And they had agreed together on the composition of this Great Medicine. And they divided it into eight parts.

And another party believed that Akhnukh had used it by revelation, and Hermes the Great, whom the Persians had named Ahjad, and to whom is ascribed every secret wisdom and celestial science.

Description of the Honey in which the Medicines are prepared.

Take (with the help of God) 25 ratls of the juice of sweet pomegranates and 10 ratls of the juice of sour pomegranates, 10 ratls of the juice of sour apples and one kust[2] of pure rubb (syrup) of sweet grapes[3] and 10 ratls of sugar-candy. Put all the above in a clean stone kettle, and cook on a gentle steady fire without smoke, and keep removing the froth from time to time. Boil it thus until the mixture turns into the form of honey. It is the medicated honey which shall be used in the medicines I shall mention (if God will).

The First Medicine.

Take one ratl of dry red roses and $\frac{3}{4}$ ratl of violets. Soak them in 10 ratls of fresh water after mixing with it $\frac{1}{2}$ ratl of the

[1] Asflanus, Nasyoras, the middle Hermes, Bārtomali, Dadastius, Ablac, Robaris, and Fataria *D*.

[2] *A*: kust = $\frac{1}{2}$ sa'a, or a little less than 10 ratls.

[3] *C* adds: 10 ratls of the juice of sweet apples.

water of parsley (or Bahn-gentle),[1] $\frac{1}{4}$ ratl of sweet marjoram, and p. 100
1 ratl of the water of ox-tongue. Having mixed all these add to them 2 ounces of myrobalans, and 1 ounce of cloves. Leave the whole mixture for one day and night so that its power comes out.

Then boil it on a gentle fire until one-third[2] of its water evaporates. Then take it down from the fire, and mark and clean it. Then add to it 3 ratls of the above-mentioned honey. Then thicken it until it becomes hard and leaven it with $1\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams of musk, 1 dirham of ambergris, and three dirhams of powdered fresh aloes. This is the first medicine, one of the eight medicines which shall be mentioned.

Its property is to strengthen the stomach, the heart, and the brain, God willing.

The Second Medicine.

Take one ratl of Kabul myrobalan peeled from its stone, $\frac{1}{4}$ ratl of the kernel of Khiyar Shanbar (Cassia fistula), 2 ounces of the root of liquorice, peeled and of moderate thickness, and 2 ounces of the seeds of myrtle[3] in a ripe state. Pound what is necessary and soak the mixture in 10 ratls of fresh water and leave it for a day and night. Then boil it gently until half of its water evaporates. Then rub with the hand, drain, and add to it 2 ratls of the medicated honey. Stiffen the mixture until it becomes thick. Then add to it 1 ounce of powdered gum mastic and $\frac{1}{4}$ ounce of Tabashir[4] and bottle up immediately. This is the second medicine.

Its property is to strengthen the stomach, to wring and cleanse it of all putrid matter without causing any natural pain, and it strengthens the nerves, the chest, and the brain.

The Third Medicine. p. 101

Take one ratl and a half of myrobalan and half a ratl of Indian myrobalan, and 1 ounce [each] of cinnamon, the herb galangale, and nutmeg.[5] Break them all into pieces, and soak them in

[1] *C* has 'Turanjan' which means the same. *A* has 'Raihan' which means odoriferous herbs, but seems a mistake of the writer.

[2] *A* reads: two thirds.

[3] 'Hubbulas'. Not in *C*.

[4] 'Tabashir' is a substance of silicious nature produced from the bamboo, and used in medicines.

[5] The last not mentioned in *A*.

10 ratls of fresh water, and leave them thus for a day and a night.

Then boil on a gentle fire until half of its water is evaporated. Then rub with the hand and drain. Then add to it 3 ratls of the above-mentioned honey and boil again until the compound becomes like rubb or honey. Then bottle it up. This is the third medicine, and its property is to strengthen the inner organs, especially the vital ones.

The Fourth Medicine.[1]

Take 2 ratls of the juice of the fresh and cleaned Ansaj,[2] ½ ratl of the juice of Karafs (celery), and ½ ratl of fresh Zūfā (hyssop) and Mukhayyat (sebestens).[3] Add them together, and leave them for a day and a night. Then drain and add 2 or 3 ratls if possible of the medicated honey. Then boil on a gentle fire until it thickens. This is the fourth medicine, and its property is to break up obstacles, and to benefit the organs of the chest and the lungs, God willing.

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The Fifth Medicine.

Take ½ ratl of fresh Ustukhudus (French lavender) and ½ ratl of Barbārīs (barberries), and 3 ounces of Fikāh aladkhar,[4] soak them in 12 ratls of fresh water, and add to them 3 ounces of Anīsūn (aniseed). Leave them thus for a day and a night. Then boil until one half of the water is evaporated. Add 4 ratls of medicated honey and boil till it thickens and bottle up. This is the fifth medicine; its property is to drive out gently spleen and phlegm, to cure melancholia, restore the stomach to its proper order, to break up internal obstacles, and to break up winds.

The Sixth Medicine.

Take ½ ratl of the juice of Bazarkatūnā (fleawort), ½ ratl of the juice of the seeds of quince, 2 ounces of al-katīra (gum tragacanth), and 3 ounces of gum arabic. Dissolve the gums in rose water, and add 3 ratls of the medicated honey. Boil well on the fire and bottle up.

[1] As in *D*.

[2] A kind of bramble (lycium).

[3] *C* reads: 'Ulayyak' (dodder) and 'Maus Sus' (liquorice) instead of the last two.

[4] 'Fukkahul Izkhar' is camomile or orris root.

This is the sixth medicine, and its property is to soften the chest, cure asthma,[1] restore all the breathing organs to their proper condition, allay feverish heat, and feed[2] the bowels (God willing).

The Seventh Medicine.

Take one ounce of Spikenard, 3 ounces [each] of cinnamon, kurfa (a kind of cinnamon), and cubebs, and $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce each of round and long rhubarb. Soak them in 5 raṭls of sweet water. Leave them until their strength comes out. Then rub with the hand, and drain. Add to it 3 raṭls of pure medicated honey, and p. 103
boil on a gentle fire until it thickens. This is the seventh medicine. Its property is to heat the stomach and to drive out wind from the belly (if God permit).

The Eighth Medicine.

Take 3 ounces of hard China rhubarb, and 1 ounce of Darwanj Sīnī (Doronicum of China), [$1\frac{1}{2}$ ounce of the three kinds of sandal wood *C only*] and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounce of purified Lak.[3] Break them all into pieces, and pour over them 10 raṭls of sweet water. Let them soak in it until their strength comes out. Then press them through with the hand, drain, and add 3 raṭls of pure medicated honey. Boil slowly on a gentle fire till the mixture thickens. This is the eighth medicine, and its property is to restore the liver and the heart and to strengthen the inner organs.

Finally when all the above-mentioned eight medicines are prepared, add to them one-fourth of their collected weight of fresh tamarind whose stones have been removed, and which has been previously dissolved in water as mentioned before. Then put the eight medicines with the dissolved tamarind in a large stone kettle, and pour over them 6 raṭls of sweet smelling rose-water. Boil the compound gently until it thickens. Then take it down from the fire and let it cool. Then take 1 ounce of the oil of balsam, 3 drachms of ambergris, 4 drachms of fragrant musk, and add them to the compound. Then add $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of powdered pearls, 6 drachms of powdered rubies,[4] red, blue, and p. 104
yellow (2 drachms of each), 3 drachms of powdered emerald, 8 drachms of powdered gold. Then put the whole mixture in

[1] 'Bashma' indigestion *A*.
[2] To clean the bowels *A*.
[3] A kind of plant used in dyeing.
[4] Or jacynth, or chrysolite.

a porcelain pot, or better still, in a golden vessel, previously scented with the incense of aloes. Then place the vessel under the sky for a week so that the heavenly powers may affect it with their influence. But do not expose the compound to the heavens on the night when the moon is inauspicious, or free from its journey, or 'under the rays'.

When all these directions have been carried out thou shalt obtain one of the greatest treasures of the world, and the most precious possessions of kings. Then take of it one mithḳāl every day after food, and two mithḳāls on an empty stomach, for it is the extreme of all extremes. A few uses of this great and precious medicine are the removal of phlegm, bile, and spleen, heating the kidneys, removal of piles, and driving away of wind, digestion of food, moderation of temperament, clearing the complexion, softening the chyme, allaying headache, clearing the eye-sight, purifying the colour and the smell of the body, strengthening the teeth, stopping greyness of the hair, opening the pores and outlets of the body. It removes all pains, external or internal, drives out wind, prevents foulness of breath, exhilarates the motions of the bowels and the bladder, removes cough, strengthens the muscles, purifies the blood, heats the food, and helps digestion. It also removes the palpitation of the heart from whatever cause it may be, stimulates and cheers the heart, produces happiness and many other benefits too numerous to relate. One of its peculiar virtues is to create intelligence, that is the brain, to engender sagacity, to sharpen genius and improve the power of thought. I do not
p. 105 know of any medicine prepared by philosophers excelling this one in preserving health and strength, and benefiting bodies and souls.

Section t p. 108 O Alexander, neither take medicine, nor open a vein except at the time chosen by astrology. For verily, the benefit of therapeutics is considerably augmented thereby.

As to the time for bleeding and cupping, never do any of these till the moon is full, and till it approaches the sun by 13 degrees: and beware of the moon being in Sagittarius, and it rising, or in Aquarius, or in Capricorn, or in Gemini. Also beware of letting blood when the sun and the moon are looking at one another from the fourth house, or when they are directly opposite to one another, or in the one and the same sign, or when the moon is in one of the watery signs.

Also avoid bleeding when Mars or Saturn is in the house of nativity, or facing the moon. The best time for letting blood is the latter half of the lunar month, when its light is decreasing, and when it is either in Libra or Scorpio, and when inauspicious p. 109
stars are not looking at it. And the worst time for that purpose is when the moon is inauspicious in its second or eighth house.

As for cupping, its best time is when the moon is rising and increasing in its light, and when none of the inauspicious stars are overlooking it, especially Mars, when the moon is in the house of Venus, or when Venus or Jupiter are overlooking it. But when the moon is the lord of that part of the body [where cupping is desired], it must not be attempted.

Times of taking Medicines.

When thou wishest to take medicine, let the moon be in one of the southern signs, except Capricorn, and let it be close to Venus or Jupiter. Better still if it is in Scorpio or Pisces or in Libra, or in the northern signs. Beware of taking medicine when the moon is with Saturn, because it will keep the medicine in the stomach. But the farther the moon is from Saturn the better it is. But there is no harm in the conjunction of the moon with p. 110
Mars, though it lessens the effect of the medicine. Let the pivot of thy action rest with the well-being of the moon, its absence from the inauspicious stars and its proximity to the auspicious ones.

And now that I have finished describing physical remedies, *Section 11*
I am going to mention spiritual ones. Know that mental diseases are also amenable to treatment. But their treatment is carried out by means of musical instruments which convey to the soul, through the sense of hearing, the harmonious sounds which are created by the motions and contacts of the heavenly spheres in their natural motion, which affect the right perceptions.

And when those harmonies are interpreted in human language they gave rise to music which is pleasing to the human soul, because the harmony of the heavenly spheres is represented in man by the harmony of his own elements, which is the principle of life. Hence, when the harmony of earthly music is perfect or, in other words, approaches the nearest to the harmony of the

spheres, the human soul is stirred up and becomes joyful and strong.[1]

Section v p. 164 And one of those things which thou must know, O Alexander, is this, that the soul acquires the power of finding out inner truths, by external signs, when it happens to be free from lust and pain. This power is known by thought. And when the soul predominates over the body and nothing intervenes between the spiritual substance which lies in the heart and the soul, and the animal part which lies in the brain, the intellect is freed from impurities and the object is reflected in it. Hence divination, which is mentioned in many books, and of the truth of which many wonderful instances are recorded. But this also depends upon the conjunction of stars happening at the time of the creation of this power.

Therefore the Science of Physiognomy is as much necessary for thee as those other sciences which rest upon conjecture. It is a great science, and the ancients knew it and practised it, and prided themselves upon possessing it. It is a true science, and I could bring proofs as to its being true were I not afraid of pro-
p. 165 longing the discourse. One of those ancients who excelled in this art and who professed its truthfulness is Aklīmūn. He used

[1] *C* reads: O thou who art afflicted with mental diseases, thou must remedy them. And their remedy is carried out only by musical instruments which act through the sense of hearing. The harmonious sounds are caused by the striking together of the heavenly spheres and their circular motions. And the harmonious tunes of nature act upon the sources of health. Since the working of human nature accords with, and imitates, the working of universal nature, it is fitting for man to turn to his own nature and temperament. And when there occurs concord and mutual agreement between the two natures, human nature is aroused and its life substance comes into action and increases, and it expands and there flows into it the substance which stirs it to cheerfulness.

And it was for this reason that the Persians, when they desired to give their judgements, used to order that music should be played, and songs and poems sung bearing upon the question under their discussion. For by this means they believed that their judgements would yield to them and would conform to the right in their creed.

And this is, by thy life, one of their right experiences. And if it was not for the fear of prolonging this discourse and explaining at length what thou canst understand by the least sign, I would have elucidated this point further. And I have also mentioned it in the book which I have composed on music and various kinds of sciences. Verily it is one of the four sciences which are the pillars of the world. But we shall not discuss it here at length.

to tell the character of a man by the construction of his body. There is a wonderful story connected with him which I shall relate for thy consideration :

The disciples of the learned Hippocrates drew his picture on a parchment and, showing it to Aklīmūn, asked him to describe his character. He looked at the formation of the body and compared the various parts of it. Then he said: 'This man must be deceitful, cunning, and sensuous, and one who loves fornication.' Thereupon the disciples of Hippocrates wanted to kill him, and said : 'O ignorant fool, this is the picture of the learned Hippocrates!' He replied : 'You asked me to read his character from this picture, and I did so according to my art.'

When they went back to Hippocrates they informed him of what had happened. Hippocrates replied to them : 'Aklīmūn is right. By God! in all his reading he has not spoken a single untruth. This is indeed my character, and such is my disposition. But when I saw that these qualities were bad, I restrained myself from following them, and my reason overcame my passions. And the philosopher who cannot subjugate his desires to his reason is no philosopher at all.' And this added to the excellence of Hippocrates, for philosophy is merely mastering desires.

A Short Chapter on Physiognomy.[1] *Section w* p. 166

O Alexander, I am writing for thee a brief description of Physiognomy which, on account of thy possessing such good sense and exalted soul, will suffice for thee instead of a longer description, God willing.[2]

Thou knowest that the womb is for the embryo like the pot for the food,[3] therefore the whiteness or blueness, or extreme redness [of the face] indicates imperfect coction, and if to them

[1] Discourse on Physiognomy *W.* Book XI *H.*

[2] O Alexander, since the science of physiognomy is one of the subtle and speculative and intellectual sciences which it is necessary for thee to know and to understand, because of the great need in which thou standest when appointing men to stand before thee, I will therefore put down for thee in this chapter all the tokens of physiognomy which are proved true and known in the days gone by, and which we have tested in sooth from olden times *W.*

[3] The temperaments differ according to the creature, and the natures differ according to their composition. A clear white complexion with a tinge of blue and much ruddiness betokens shamelessness, cunning, and small intelligence *W.*

is added any imperfection of nature it is a strong proof of the
p. 167 body being imperfect as well. Therefore beware of such people, blue or very red and smooth,[1] for they must be shameless, perfidious, and sensuous.

O Alexander, if thou shouldst see a person who looks often at thee, and who, when thou lookest at him, turns red in the face, or is ashamed, or blushes,[2] or whose eyes fill with tears, be sure that such a person loves thee, and is afraid of thee. But if he shows signs contrary to the above, he is thy enemy and ill-wisher.

Beware of one of a defective make, or having some physical imperfection.[3]

The best proportioned construction is of him who possesses medium stature, black hair and eyes—the latter somewhat deep set—round face, white mixed with red or moderately brown colour, with perfect form and well-proportioned body, head neither too large nor too small. Who speaks little except on necessary occasions, a voice neither too loud nor too low, inclining towards thinness but not too thin. And whose temperament inclines towards spleen and bile. Such a man is of a perfect formation. Choose him for thy company. Now I shall describe to thee some parts of the body separately, the knowledge of which coupled with what has been mentioned above will enable thee to read character.

Soft hair denotes timidity, coldness of the brain, and scarcity of understanding. Coarse hair denotes courage and soundness of the brain. Excess of hair on the shoulders and the neck denotes stupidity and rashness. And much hair on the chest and the belly denotes wildness of nature, scarcity of understanding, and excess of tyranny. Red hair is a sign of stupidity and love of power.[4] And black hair is a sign of mildness of nature and love of justice.[5]

p. 168 The man whose eyes are large and protruding is envious, shameless, and lazy, and is unworthy of being trusted, especially if his eyes are blue.[6] But one whose eyes are moderate in size inclined to deepness and darkness, he should be intelligent and

[1] or has much hair on his head, as thou bewarest of poisonous snakes *W*.

[2] do not befriend him. But if his eyes *W*.

[3] as much as thou eschewest thine enemy *W*.

[4] a sign of great and swift ire *W*.

[5] and the mean between the two betokens fairness *W*.

[6] and probably he is evil-eyed *W inserts*.

quick witted.[1] But he whose eyes are slanting is wicked.[2] He whose eyes are motionless, like those of animals, is rough natured and ignorant. And he whose eyes are constantly moving and revolving is cunning and of treacherous and thieving propensities. He whose eyes are red is bold and reckless. And the worst of all eyes are blue ones of a turquoise colour, and if there happen to be white, black, or red spots around them, their owner must be the worst and most pernicious of all mankind.

Eyebrows of bushy hair[3] denote impotence and unintelligibility of speech. And if they are united to the temples, the owner of such eyebrows is conceited and boastful. And he whose eyebrows are thin, and of moderate length, and are black, he is quick-witted.

If the nose happen to be thin, its owner is impetuous.[4] And if the nostrils are so long as to almost enter the mouth it betokens courage. And he who is flat-nosed is lustful. And he whose nostrils are very wide is irascible. And when the middle of the nose is thick inclining to snubness its owner shall be vainglorious and lying. But the most symmetrical of all noses is that which is not too long, is of moderate thickness and height, and with nostrils not too wide.

A wide forehead without any wrinkles in it, indicates quarrel- p. 189
someness, mischievousness, carelessness, and vaingloriousness. But he whose forehead is of moderate width and height and with wrinkles in it, is truthful, faithful, intelligent, and skilful. And he whose forehead is of conspicuous protrusion is taciturn and prudent.

He whose mouth is wide is brave, and he whose lips are thick and teeth long is stupid. And he whose face is thin is careful in his actions and intelligent.[5]

He[6] whose face is small inclining to sallow is vile, wicked, deceitful, and arrogant. He whose face is long is shameless.

[1] loving faithfulness *IV inserts.* [2] deceitful *IV.*

[3] denote talkativeness *IV.*

[4] He who has tender nostrils will be a man of soft temperament *IV.*

[5] A large mouth betokens courage, thick lips betoken simplicity, and one who has red lips of mean thickness is a just man. He whose teeth stand out prominently and close together is treacherous, scheming, and unfaithful: he who has straight teeth well set with space between them is intelligent, trusty, and faithful *IV.*

[6] who has a face with swollen cheeks is ignorant and of rough disposition: he *IV.*

And the best of faces is one of good width, modest looking, neither too wide nor too small, with soft cheeks, thin lips, good teeth, without having too much hair in beard or eyebrows. He whose temples are protruding and the veins of his neck full is irascible. He whose ears are very large is foolish, but of a good memory. And he whose ears are very small is stupid, a thief, sensuous, and cowardly. He whose voice is strong is brave. He whose voice is neither too loud nor too low, and who speaks neither too fast nor too slow, is wise, prudent, and truthful. He whose voice is harsh inclining to shrillness is foolish, but patient in hardship and oppression. And he whose voice is extremely soft is insolent and ill-natured. But the best voice is one with moderate nasal twang and softness. He whose speech is moderate in harshness and softness, fastness and slowness, is wise, prudent, sincere, good natured, and of social habits. And he whose speech is fast, especially if his voice happens to be soft, is shameless, foolish, and a liar. He whose speech is harsh is irascible
p. 170 and ill-natured. He whose speech has a strong nasal twang is envious and deceitful. And he who is harsh of speech [1] is foolish, stupid, and conceited.

He who moves his body too much in speaking or plays with his hands is talkative, shameless, boastful, and deceitful. And he who is grave and taciturn is perfect in nature, prudent, and intelligent. But one who stammers in speech or minces his words is defective in reason.

He whose neck is long and thin is stupid and timid.[2] He whose neck is extremely short is foolish, cunning, and vile. He whose neck is very thick is foolish and a glutton. The best neck is one of moderate size and thickness, with conspicuous veins and with little flesh.[3]

He whose belly is large is stupid, ignorant, conceited, and fond of lechery.[4] Thinness of the belly and moderation in the width of the chest indicate [5] courage with stupidity. Crookedness of the back indicates ill-nature and low-mindedness. And evenness and straightness of the back, prominence of the chest, are good

[1] pleasant *W*. [2] clamorous, stupid, and simple *W*.

[3] Whosoever has a neck well-proportioned in length and thickness is wise, able, and a faithful friend. *W*.

[4] and faint-hearted *W*.

[5] generous understanding and good counsel. Broad shoulders and back betoken *W inserts*.

signs. Prominence of the shoulders indicates evil intentions and bad character.

When the arms are long so that the hands reach the knees it is a sign of courage and generosity. And if the arms are short their owner shall be a lover of mischief and cowardly.

Long palms and fingers indicate aptitude for arts and business and good government. Short and thick fingers indicate ignorance, p. 171 stupidity and low aims.

Similarly, broad and fleshy feet indicate ignorance and love of oppression, and small and soft feet indicate wickedness.[1] The best feet are those of moderate size and symmetrical of form, with little flesh, sound nails, and symmetrical toes. Thinness of the ankles[2] denotes timidity, and their thickness indicates courage. And fullness of the calves and ankles denotes foolishness and shamelessness.[3] Likewise too full thighs show weakness and softness.

He whose steps are wide and slow[4] is successful in his actions and undertakings and prudent for the issue of his affairs. He whose steps are short and quick is hasty in his actions, ill-natured, unmethodical in his affairs, and of evil design.[5]

The best of men is one having a moderate-sized mouth, soft and moist flesh, neither too thin nor too fat, neither too tall nor too short, in colour either white inclining to red, or a clear brown colour, oval in face, and of even features,[6] hair long—neither too thick nor too thin[7]—of a colour between red and black,[8] moderate-sized[9] eyes, somewhat deep-set, moderate-sized head, straight neck, square shoulders inclined to sloping, moderately broad chest, back and thighs not too full, a clear and moderate voice, smooth palms, long fingers inclined to thinness, grave, thoughtful, amiable, cheerful so as to inspire others with his cheerfulness, and high minded.[10]

1 courage *W.* 2 heel *W.*
3 hardness and strength of body *W.* 4 are moderate *W.*
5 hasty in his work and not resolute in his affairs *W.*
6 smooth of cheek *W.* 7 between the lank and the curly *W.*
8 of a fair colour *W.* 9 big, black *W.*

10 Sparing in words, except when it is absolutely necessary, not gluttonous or sensual beyond measure. This is the most perfect creature of the sons of man, and this is the man I would choose for thee: search therefore for a man who answers this description, and thou shalt thereby prosper. Thou knowest already that a ruler is more dependent on the subjects than they are on him. So comprehend these signs which I have mentioned to thee, and try them with thy sure discernment and acute examination, for thou shalt profit much thereby, if God will *W.*

p. 172 Therefore, O Alexander, whenever thou findest such a man choose him for thy company and for governing thy people and for serving thyself. But thou must not, O Alexander, form thy judgement of a man's character by one sign only, but judge them on the whole. And when thou findest contrary signs lean towards those that are stronger and more conclusive so that thou mayest be rightly guided and achieve thy objects, by the help of God.

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Discourse III.

On the Form of Justice.

Section A O Alexander, justice is a noble attribute among the attributes of God, may His name be glorified and exalted. And the king whom God has chosen to rule over His people, and to whom He has granted the government of their affairs and power over their lives and properties and all other matters, is like a god, and it is necessary for him to resemble Him in the attributes of mercy, wisdom, &c. And the attributes of God are numberless. Therefore, O Alexander, right is opposed to oppression, and the contrary of oppression is justice.

It is through justice that the heavens stand over the earth, and it was for justice that the holy prophets were sent. And justice is the form of the reason which God gives to those most beloved of Him. It is with justice that the earth is populated, kingdoms are established, people become obedient,[1] savages are tamed and the wild ones are civilized, distant ones are drawn near, souls become safe from destruction, and rulers become immune from all sorts of evils.

p. 124 It is for this reason that the people of India have said: The justice of a king is better for the people than plenitude.[2] And their wise men have said: A just king is better than a universal and continuous rain. And it has been found inscribed on stones in the Syrian language that king and justice are mutually[3] indispensable. All things have been created from elements.[4] And the cause is the action which has caused their being.

[1] *W*: it is the comfort of those who doubt and wonder.

[2] *W*: prosperity of the time.

[3] *W*: brothers and mutually.

[4] *B* reads: All things have been created out of one element which is their form, and their cause is the action which has brought them into being,

And the doer is the all-wise and all-powerful God. And the accepting by the element of the influence of the action is the effect.

The Cause which is the principle (or element?) is potential and the effect is the existent, and it shows the wisdom of the wise Creator, and the reception by the principle (or element?) of the influence of the action according to what it is capable of receiving, is Justice.

Therefore it is plain that Justice is of two kinds: apparent and hidden. Apparent justice is that which is manifest from the actions of the Creator according to its definitions of equality in weight and measure, since the word equity literally means equality. The hidden justice is the belief in the wise Creator and His creation, and finding out His words.

I have stated before that a king resembles God in power and therefore it is necessary for him to try to resemble Him in acts as well, and to establish among his people such laws and customs p. 125 as are in accordance with justice and divine commandments. And he ought to believe in them himself, for it is by belief and faith that Law derives its power. And when the people see that the king believes in, and follows, his Law, they also believe in, and follow it, and they become easy in their minds.

And as there are various classes of people, the methods of justice among them are also different. Justice is a word which means equal division, removal of oppression, correctness of weights and equality of measures. It is a name that combines in itself the meanings of all kinds of virtues and noble qualities

and the doer . . . God. And the acceptance of the element is the effect of the action, and being affected by relation is the element and the possibility. And the action is being, and the manifestor of the wisdom of the wise Creator. And the acceptance of the effect according to its ability of acceptance is justice, &c.

C reads this passage a little differently: And it has been found engraved on some stones in *Greek* that sovereignty and justice are two brothers, one of whom cannot do without the other. And all things are from an element. And the cause is reason which has brought them into being. And the agent the all-wise and powerful (God). Hence the acceptance by the element of the effect of reason is the "being wrought".

Therefore cause is the "element"—the "possibility", and the "being wrought" is the "being"—the wisdom of the Wise Maker, and the acceptance by the element of the effect from reason—the effect which it is capable of accepting—is justice.

and magnanimous deeds. Justice is of various kinds. There is a form of justice which ought to be observed by governors in their government. There is another form of justice which a man ought to observe in his dealings with his Creator. Then there is a form of justice which ought to be observed by men in their dealings with each other.

O Alexander, I have invented for thee a diagram according to Philosophy, Law, and Divinity which will inform thee of everything that is in the world and which comprehends the government of the world and comprises all the degrees and classes of the people, and the form of justice required for each of them. I have divided this figure[1] according to the divisions
p. 125 of the heavenly spheres. Thou mayest begin with any division thou likest, it will lead thee to one next to it like the continuation of the revolution of heavens. And as all the forms of government, whether the high or low, depend upon the world, I found it advisable to begin this figure with the world.

And this figure, O Alexander, is the essence of this book and the key to thy object. If I had not sent to thee anything else except this figure, in compliance with thy request, it would have sufficed thee. Therefore study it with sincere thought and it will lead thee to all thy objects and will obtain for thee all that thou desirest, and make perfect all that thou lovest, if God will.

Circle of the Sphere.[2]

The world is a garden hedged in by sovereignty.—Sovereignty is lordship exalted by law.—Law is guidance governing the king.—The king is a shepherd mustering the army.—The army are dragons fed by money.—Money is food gathered by the people.—The people are servants subjected to justice.—Justice is happiness and the establishment of the world.[3]

Justice is the harmonizer and supporter of the world.

The world is the foundation of the institution of state.

State is the king who preserves the laws.

Law is government governed by the king.

The king is the guardian of the people with the help of the army.

The army is composed of the officials gathered together by wealth.

[1] *W*: so that each section represents one degree, and thou.

[2] *See* p. 126.

[3] as in *W*.

Wealth or revenue is collected by the people.
The people are subject to justice.[1]

There can be no justice and government without the subject.
There can be no subject without a king.
There can be no king without an army.
There can be no army without a state.
There can be no state without men (soldiers).
There can be no soldiers without money.
There can be no money without population (and peace).
There can be no population and peace without justice and government.[2]

The world is a garden whose fence is dominion; dominion is lordship whose principle is law; law is administration directed by the king; the king is a crown supported by the army; the army is a supporter maintained by money; money is a product amassed by the people; the people are rendered happy by justice; justice secures the prosperity of the world.

Useful information derived from certain of the learned on the authority of the Imâm (may God accept him): he said there can be no state without men (soldiers), and no men without wealth, and no wealth without subjects, and no people without justice, and no justice without law, which is the life of the state.

And in the above figure all the divisions are connected with one another: state is a power established by custom, custom is a weapon wielded by the king, the king is an arm supported by the army, the army is composed of soldiers employed by wealth, wealth is subsistence collected by the subjects, the subjects are composed of servants subjugated by justice, justice is civilization and well-being of the world, the world is the ground on which is based the foundation of state.[3]

Discourse IV.

[4] *On Ministers, their numbers, the method of governing them, the experience of their counsels, and the quality of their intelligence.* *Section B*

O Alexander, understand this discourse, and know that its value is great. For verily, by thy truth I have collected together

[1] As in *C*. [2] as in *A*. [3] as in *B*.
[4] *W*: Of the quality of the wazīr, the manner of his governance, the testing of his judgement, and the nature of his intellect.

in it everything of the sciences of philosophy,[1] and the quality and the composition of reason, and I have revealed in it certain divine secrets as they were indispensable for thy instruction in the reality of reason and the manner of its distribution among the creatures of God, and the method of gaining knowledge thereof. Because verily it is of utmost importance to thee. Therefore comprehend it, if God will.

p. 127 Know, O Alexander, that the first thing created by God, glorified be His name, was a simple spiritual essence in exceeding perfection and excellence, in which were the forms of all things. This He named Reason. Out of this essence there was created another, next to it in rank, which was called the Universal Soul.

Out of the latter He brought into being a third essence named
p. 128 Matter (hyle, hayūlā). Matter on receiving dimensions, i.e. length, breadth, and thickness, became pure body.

Then this body adopted a spherical form, which is the best of all forms, and greatest in space and continuation. Out of this spherical form then were created the heavens, planets, and all other ethereal bodies, the purest of them being the first and the coarsest the last.

So, beginning from the first, or the all-comprehending sphere, to the last sphere which is the sphere of the moon, there are in all nine spheres one within the other. The first and the highest is, as mentioned before, the all-comprehending sphere. Next to it
p. 129 is the starry sphere. Next to it is the sphere of Saturn, then the sphere of Jupiter, then of Mars, then of the Sun, then of Venus, then of Mercury, then the sphere of the Moon, and then the sphere of the elements: fire, air, water, and the earth. So the earth is the centre of all the spheres, and it is the coarsest of all bodies in essence and thickest or most solid of them in substance.

And when these spheres were arranged in one another as the wisdom of the Creator had decreed, in the wisest and the best arrangement, and revolved with their substance and their stars around the four elements mentioned before, and night and day, summer and winter, heat and cold followed one another, and when all these were mixed and tempered with one another, the finer mixing with the coarser, the heavier with the lighter, the warm with the cold, the moist with the dry, there were formed

[1] *W* adds: and wisdom.

from their combinations, after long ages, various compositions, vegetables, and animals.

Minerals are all those materials which are formed inside the earth, at the bottom of seas, and in the hollows of mountains, from the pent-up vapours, and rising smokes, and the moisture closed in caves, and the atmosphere. The preponderating element in all minerals is the earth. The minerals are: gold, silver, iron, tin, zinc, and others which are known and exist. As for animals, every body that moves, feels, and transports itself from place to place is called an animal. The preponderating element in animals is air. Hence vegetables are superior of composition to minerals, p. 130
and animals are superior to vegetables.

Man is the noblest of all animals in construction, and the preponderating element in him is fire. In the composition of man there are united all the essences of creation—whether elemental or composite, because man is composed of body which is coarse and material, and of the soul which is a pure, heavenly, and spiritual essence.

Therefore it is necessary for thee, O Alexander, if thou intendest to acquire the knowledge of the realities of all beings, that thou shouldst begin with the knowledge of thine own soul, as it is the thing nearest to thyself. Then thou shouldst try to know other things.

And know that the universal soul is a spiritual power which has emanated from reason by the permission of God, glory be to Him. And know that it possesses two kinds of powers which penetrate all bodies as the light of the sun penetrates all particles of air. One of these powers is (the Perceptive) intellective, and the other the Active. And God has gifted it with seven faculties, namely: the attractive, the retentive, the digestive, the expulsive, the nutritive (or assimilative), the formative, and the productive. These faculties work in the formation of the body of man, when the seed is deposited in the womb it takes nine months to be completed. And when this period comes to an end the power p. 131
of the animal spirit transports it, by the will of God, from that place to the open space of this house (the world), and begins another kind of action, which lasts for four years. Then there comes the power of speech which interprets the names of things perceived. Then it takes up another course of action which continues until the child is fifteen years old. Then he acquires

the power of reasoning, through which he distinguishes between the meanings of the things perceived. Then it takes up another course of action which continues till he is thirty years of age, when he acquires the power of wisdom through which he comprehends the meanings of intellectual facts. Then it takes up another course of action which lasts till he is forty years old, when he acquires the angelic (or spiritual) power which helps him towards the knowledge of God. Then it takes up another course of action which lasts till he is fifty years old, when he acquires the religious power which helps him to prepare for the next world. Then it takes up another course of action which continues till the end of his life.

And if the soul is completed and perfected before its departing from the body, there comes down to it the universal spirit and takes
p. 132 it to the heavenly assembly. Then it takes up another course of action until it is united with the sphere of Reason and the approved object of the Universal Soul.

Section C And when God created man, and made him the noblest of all animals, and commanded him and prohibited him, and appointed for him punishments and rewards,[1] He made his body like a city and his reason its king.[2] And He appointed for that king five ministers in order to help him in the government of the body, and to obtain for him all that he needed and all that was useful for him, and to warn him against all that was hurtful and injurious to him. This king cannot exist and cannot be perfect without those five ministers. And He gave to each of the ministers a particular uniform which should distinguish him from his companion, and a peculiar quality not possessed by any one else. And by their united judgement all his affairs were governed and his actions performed.

These five ministers are the five senses: the eyes, ears, tongue, nose, and the hands.

p. 133 The faculty of the eyes is to see its objects which are of ten kinds: light, darkness, colour, body, form, place, distance, proximity, motion, and rest.

The faculty of the ears is to hear sounds and they are of two kinds: animal and lifeless. Animal sounds are of two kinds:

[1] *W* follows from p. 228, l. 12: And then afterwards in His wisdom and His plan He bound it up with the visible and sensitive body, and.

[2] *W* omits to p. 232, l. 3.

intelligible, as the speech of man, and unintelligible, as the neighing of a horse, the braying of an ass, the whistling of birds, &c.

Lifeless sounds are such as are produced by the coming in contact of two pieces of wood or stones, &c., and such as the sound of thunder, of the drum, and the lute. And know that every sound has a tune, a note, and a condition. And the soul of every sound is its music. Therefore when the air which carries this sound comes into motion it also moves its spirit which divides the various notes and prevents them from coalescing or being mixed with one another. Then it reaches to its extreme limit in the perception of hearing, which conveys it to the imaginative faculty.

The sense of taste lies in the tongue. It distinguishes tastes and flavours. They are of nine kinds: sweet, bitter, salt, greasy, sour, sharp, astringent, insipid, and styptic.

The sense of smell is through the nose. It distinguishes between odours, which are of two kinds: pleasant and unpleasant.

The sense of touch is in the hand. Its objects are: heat and cold, roughness and smoothness. This faculty is situated between two skins, one of which is the outer covering of the body, and the p. 134
other is next to the flesh.[1]

And when each of these senses has obtained that for which God has created it to serve the king, [reason], it imparts it to the nerves which are situated in the front part of the brain and which are as fine as cobwebs, and which serve the purpose of curtains, or servants, to the king; and the said nerves carry it to the front portion of the brain. Then all the perceptions of the senses are presented to the faculty of imagination, which passes them on to the cogitative faculty which is situated in the centre of the brain, so that it may look into them, judge their meanings, and know their harms and benefits, and act accordingly.

Therefore the existence of the body depends upon these senses and so does the beauty of everything else. O Alexander, thus perfection depends upon five things. As the planets, on which depend the heavenly spheres, are five. There are five kinds of animals: man, birds, small animals, large animals, and reptiles. So there are five things without which vegetables also cannot exist: root, stem, branch, leaf, and taste. There are five notes in p. 135
music without which no harmony is perfect. And there are five

[1] This paragraph is placed before the preceding in the Latin.

days completing the year which occur at the end of the month Azar (March).[1]

Therefore, O Alexander, consider this speech and act according to it, and follow the example of God in all thy actions.[2] Let there be five ministers to thee, and consult them all separately in all thy affairs. It will be better for thee. And do not reveal to them thine own counsel and intention, and do not let any of them know whose counsel thou dost prefer, and do not let them think that thou standest in need of their counsel, lest they may despise thee. And collect together all their counsels in thine own mind as the brain does with that which the senses bring to it. Then ask the help of God in thy affair, and lean towards that counsel which is opposite to thine own desire.

It was for this reason that Hermes replied to the question whether the judgement of the man consulted is superior to that of him who consults: 'Yes, because his judgement is not influenced by his personal desire.' And this is true. And when thou callest together all thy ministers in thy presence to take their counsel, thou shouldst not mix up thine own judgement with theirs, but hear all that they have to say. And if they are hasty in their replies and are of one opinion, then contradict them, and show them the weakness of their judgement, so that they should think longer on the subject and reflect on all its points. Because there is no good in hasty judgements.

And when thou findest that their judgement or the judgement of one of them is right, show thy approval of them all so that they
p. 136 should not know which of them thou dost prefer; and they should remain in ignorance of the counsel thou hast approved until thou dost carry it out, because secrecy is essential for success in all affairs. Experience and practice will show thee which one of them

[1] *W* reads: And the soul its lieutenant serving that city and studying its parts. And He caused the reason to dwell in the most honoured and in the highest place, to wit, the head, and He caused the soul to dwell in all the parts of the body, and from without and within it moves and regulates reason. If anything should happen to the soul, then body and reason are destroyed; but if anything happens to the reason and the soul remains perfect, then the body remains hale until from the Lord comes the destruction of the whole, when the destined term of life is accomplished (in succession to p. 230, l. 21).

[2] *W* reads: Have only one counsellor, and take counsel with him in all thy intentions and listen to his advice, even if it be contrary to thy desires, for then that advice would be a true one.

deserves to be trusted most for his counsels and correctness of judgement. Because a minister's counsel and his care in the management of thy services shall be according to his love of thyself and his desire for the continuance of thy sovereignty.

And beware of giving preference to one of them over another in gifts, precedence, and other matters. For verily many states have been ruined in ancient times owing to the rivalry of ministers and their being given preference one to another. And do not show more favour to a younger man than to an older one, except when the counsel of the younger one happens to be superior.[1]

And I say to thee, O Alexander, that counsel depends on the body; and when the body grows decrepit through age counsel also becomes weak.

Also correctness of judgement depends upon nativity. Every one is born at a certain hour, and his subsequent proficiency in arts and his successes or failures in his undertakings depend upon the influence of the stars ruling over his nativity. Even if his parents try to turn him to engage in some other art or profession he will turn to the one decreed to him by his stars. There is a story in illustration of the above:

Certain astrologers happened to pass through a village where p. 137
a man who was a weaver made them his guests, and entertained them. On that night there was born to the weaver a son. The astrologers drew out his horoscope and looked into his stars. His nativity was in the sign Virgo, and Mercury was in the sign Gemini its own 'house' with Jupiter, and inauspicious stars were absent. Therefore they augured that the new-born child would be learned, dexterous, and of sound judgement, and that he would manage the affairs of kings. They wondered at it, but did not inform his father. The boy grew up, and his father desired to teach him his own craft, but the boy's nature was averse from it, and he refused to learn it. His father tried compulsion and beat him until he was tired; but it was of no avail, so he left him alone. Then the boy turned towards men of learning, studied sciences and histories, and

[1] *W* reads: And when his advice shall appear true to thee, do not hasten to fulfil it, but tarry for a day and a night. But if it is a thing which thou art afraid that thou couldst otherwise not carry through, then do it speedily. And if after proof and examination it will have become clear to thee concerning thy counsellor, and of the love which he bears to thee, then take his advice. Pay no regard to old men when the advice that comes from a young man could be more profitable.

acquired the arts of government, until at last he became a minister. His fame spread, and his story became public.

Another story, in direct opposition to the above showing the wonders of the influence of the stars, is that of a son of an Indian king. His nativity had foretold that he should be a smith. The astrologers concealed this from the king, and when the boy grew up his father wanted to teach him.[1] But the boy's ambition did not respond, and his nature inclined him only to the craft of smiths The king was very much grieved on perceiving this, and he called together all the astrologers of the age. They unanimously confirmed the tendency of the boy's nature.

There are many other stories of this kind and those resembling it are well known.

[2] To the above-mentioned king's son are ascribed the fine-tempered swords of India. And whenever he was reproached for it, he replied that they were the helpers of his father, and a treasure possessed by no one else.

O Alexander, do not despise small (humble) men. And whenever thou findest one who is eager for knowledge, steady in his
p. 138 conduct, patient and an abstainer from vices, make much of him; especially if he possess, in addition, to the above, high mindedness, noble pedigree, eloquence, pleasant conversation, rhetoric, and knowledge of the history of the ancients and bygone nations, and of the lives of the great men of past times. Value the friendship of such a man. And if beside the above-mentioned qualities he possesses sound judgement, discretion, purity of soul, and strong and firm faith in thy laws and practises them, no one deserves better than he to be minister and manager of the state.

O Alexander, do not put first or last any action,[3] without due consultation. For philosophers have never ceased from saying that counsel is the essence of true guidance.[4] And it is written in the books of the Persians that one of their kings took the counsel of his ministers regarding a most important secret affair of his state, on which his power depended. One of the ministers said to him: [5] It is necessary for the king to consult with us

[1] *W* adds: all the manners and government of kings.

[2] This paragraph occurs only in *A*.

[3] i. e. hurry over or delay.

[4] *W* adds: and the cause of success.

[5] It is not meet for thee, O king, to take counsel with only one of us in thy affairs, but thou shouldst in preference take counsel with each one of us singly. But he ought not to heed them. The one would keep his secret,

separately and in secret on matters of such great importance and difficulty. For doing so is more conducive to secrecy, more prudent for counsel, and more befitting to ensure safety; and it saves us from being suspected of the treachery of another. If the secret is revealed to one only he will take care not to divulge it. It is not necessary to act thus in all matters, but only in rare circumstances. It is always best for a king to call his ministers together and to consult with them publicly in all matters great or small, as we have stated before.

As some ancient philosophers have said, a king of sound judgement is assisted and strengthened by the counsels of his ministers, as a river is augmented by the help of its tributary streams, although the river may be independent of their help.[1] By prudence and counsel is obtained what cannot be obtained by p. 139
power and an army.

And it is written in one of the books of the Persians: A king advised his son saying:[2] Always take counsel, for thou art but a single man. And consult with him who reports to thee concerning the infidels, and takes advantage of an opportunity against thy enemy, and prevents thy enemy from taking advantage of an opportunity against thee.[3]

And let not thy appreciation[4] of thy own judgement or thy high station prevent thee from adding to thy counsel the counsel of others. For if their counsel is better than thine own, thou mayest accept it, and if it is weaker than thine own, thou canst do without it.[5]

O Alexander, the best and most emphatic of my advice to thee is this, that thou never be content with only one minister. For, doing so will ruin thy subjects, and thy state and thy army; it will

and the king could rely on his advice and be better inclined to peace, and pay less attention to their advice on account of the mutual jealousy of colleagues. For there is greater safety in revealing the secret only to one at a time, and the king is more sure. But when the opinion of one of them seems sound, and ⟨discord⟩ appears among them, the king can rely on it without consulting any one else *W*.

[1] And Bhtm the Greek said: The clever king gains by the advice of his counsellors just as the sea gains by the flow of the rivers *W*.

[2] And one of the kings of Persia said unto his son *W*.

[3] for among men there will be found some one who can explain hidden secrets *W*.

[4] *W* adds: nor the liberality.

[5] If thy opinion will agree with theirs, then thine will get stronger by it. If it be different, then take heed and consider it carefully and ponder over it; if it is more profitable accept it, and if it be less then leave it utterly.

harm thy interests and will turn away the hopes that people have in thee into other directions too numerous to describe. If thou canst not find five ministers with the qualities described above,
p. 140 thou must have at least three of them. For the least support for anything is made of three numbers. The medium is five, and the most perfect is seven. For the heavens are seven and so are the earths: the planets are seven and so are the days of the week: (the revolutions of the moon are seven. B.), the days of joy are seven, and so are those of sorrow. And the number seven is found in many other things too numerous to relate.

One of the methods of trying thy minister is this. Give him to think that thou standest in need of money. If he counsel thee to draw upon thy treasury, and make this to appear easy to thee,[1] then verily he is no treasure for thee. And if he suggest to thee the advisability of extracting money from the people, this policy is of the worst kind, and will lead thee to incur the hatred of the people.[2] And if he offer to thee his own wealth, and entreat thee to make use of it, be certain that he is truly loyal to thee.[3] Be grateful to him and value his services. For verily money is loved by all souls, and no one is willing to sacrifice it for thee unless he prefer thee to himself.

Also examine thy ministers by giving them gifts and presents. And whomsoever thou findest greedy thereof he shall be of no good to thee. Because the minister whose sole object is the acquirement of wealth serves thee for his own gain and not for thy sake. Verily the love of gain corrupts judgement, and is an incurable disease. For the more he gains the more he wants.
p. 141 And the greed of a minister leads to the ruin of the state for many reasons. For such a minister can be easily led by thy enemy by being bribed to destroy thee.

It is advisable for this reason not to allow a minister to leave thy presence, and to bind him not to hold any communication with any other king—either by correspondence or through messengers. And if thou findest a minister doing so, reproach him

[1] he is of no value to thee, thou mayest not do so except in time of great need, when there are no other means of help, for he has counted it and treasured it up *W*.

[2] *W* adds: and thereby destroy thy kingdom.

[3] and if his counsel results in the fulfilment of thy wishes, then his action deserves gratitude, and from this thou learnest that he is willing to sacrifice himself for thy service *W*.

immediately. For human nature is very much subject to influence and temptation. The best of ministers is he who is always present before thee and is obedient to thy will: who will go against himself and the world in order to please thee; who will sacrifice his wealth and position[1] for thy sake;[2] whom nothing can turn against thee;[3] who will not leave thy door morning or evening, and who possesses the following qualities:[4]

Firstly: His limbs should fulfil their functions perfectly.

Secondly: He should possess a good understanding, quick appreciation of everything said to him.

Thirdly: He should have a good memory so as never to forget anything that he hears or perceives.

Fourthly: He should be intelligent and quick-witted, so that a smallest clue will lead him to a right conclusion.

Fifthly: He should be possessed of good expression so as to be able to explain his thoughts in a few words.

Sixthly: He should be skilful in all sciences, especially in p. 142
Arithmetic, because it is a true science, and is a good proof of intellectual sharpness.

Seventhly: He should be truthful in his words, for the love of truth, avoiding falsehood from the hatred of it: honest in his dealings, good-natured, amiable and of a cheerful temperament.

Eighthly: He should not be greedy in eating, drinking, and lechery, but should be moderate in all things, and avoiding play and pleasures.

Ninthly: He should be high minded, lofty natured, and a lover of magnanimity.

Tenthly: He should be high-souled, and dīnars and dirhems and all worldly possessions should be trifling in his eyes. And his sole ambition should be to increase the glory of his sovereign and to make him beloved of his people.

Eleventhly: He should be a lover of justice and its followers, an enemy to injustice and oppression; should give to every one his due, sympathize with the oppressed and remove injustice from him; and nothing should turn him from the path of justice.

[1] and his people *C*.

[2] The most praiseworthy among thy counsellors is he to whom thy life and service is dear, and who despises the world only to fulfil thy wishes and puts his person and his goods at thy pleasure *W*.

[3] Only in *A*.

[4] He must have these virtues that I name now *W*.

Twelfthly: He should be bold in carrying out his intentions after having found them to be right. He should be courageous and not pusillanimous.

Thirteenthly: He should be thoroughly acquainted with all the sources of thy expenditure, and should know beforehand the cause of the complaint brought to him and its remedy.

Fourteenthly: He should not be too talkative or too loving of laughter and pleasantry: nor should he be too retiring, or despise mixing with the people.

p. 143 *Fifteenthly*: He should not be addicted to wine: his house should be open to natives and travellers; his ear should be open to hear all the news: he should be always ready to remove the complaints of the people, to improve their affairs: he should be conciliating towards them, and forbearing towards their prejudices.[1]

[1] *W* reads: (1) He must be perfect in all his limbs, trained for the work for which and to which he is chosen.

(2) He must be a man of wide knowledge, deep wisdom, and quick imagination, understanding everything that is told him, endowed with feeling and memory, alert, sagacious, and heedful, convinced by proof only, and perceiving the intention at which others are aiming.

(3) He must be of fine countenance and good in his actions, but he must not be arrogant or audacious.

(4) He must be of fair speech, so that his tongue can express what is in his heart and mind in a few words.

(5) He must be well dressed and versed in all the sciences, especially in that of mathematics, which is the true science resting upon evidence, which improves the nature.

(6) He must speak truly, loving the truth and driving away the lie, being faithful in his transactions, sincere to the people, gentle and easy of access.

(7) He must not be given much to eating, drinking, and lechery, keeping away from frivolity and sensual delights.

(8) He must be great in soul, lofty in aim, loving honour and hating oppression.

(9) That dīnars and dirhems, and all the accidents of the world be despised by him, and that he put his mind only on those things which would bring honour to the king and make him beloved in the eyes of the people.

(10) He must love justice and those who practise it, and hate violence and wrong, and yield equity to whom it belongs, having pity on those who have suffered violence, refraining from it himself, and not being deterred from this by the complicity of any one.

(11) He must be of strong determination in anything which it is necessary for him to accomplish without fear or weakness of spirit, firm of heart, excelling in horsemanship and the conduct of war.

(12) He must be a good correspondent, a good calligraphist, well educated,

[1] O Alexander, God has not created any being more powerful than man, nor does any other animal contain all those qualities which are collected in him. And there is no moral quality in an animal which is not to be found in man. For man is courageous as a lion, timid as a hare, generous as a cock, avaricious as a dog,[2] licentious as a crow, wild as a leopard, sociable as a pigeon, sly as a fox, tame as a sheep, swift as a deer, slow as a bear, proud as an elephant, humble as a donkey, thievish as a magpie, vain as a peacock, unerring as a qaṭa (partridge), erring (and stupid) as an ostrich, fugitive as a ram,[3] importunate as an ox, refractory as a mule,[4] mute as a fish,[5] talkative as an owl,[6] useful as a horse,[7] harmful as a rat. There is no animal, vegetable, mineral, heaven, planet, star, sign or any other being of the universe which possesses any peculiarity which is not to be found in man. *Section D*

O Alexander, do not consult in thy actions any one who is not a true believer and has no faith in God.[8] And the best of believers *Section E* p. 144

knowing the histories and the days of men, the lives of kings, the records of ancient nations and famous rulers. He must know all the issues of the expenses; nothing should be hidden from him of what is necessary and befitting for thee, so that the people should not rise against their subjection and he not know the cause of their complaints, but he should know how to pacify them, so that the subjects shall know that he understands the needs of the people, and they will no longer murmur against the king.

(13) He must not be talkative or roaring or jocular and insulting to people.

(14) He must not be of those who indulge in wine and ease and pleasures; he should spend night and day in meeting the people, dealing with deputations (lit. companies), in considering and planning; his court should be open to all who have business to transact. He should listen to their stories, help their cases, improve all their affairs, cheer their sadness and be patient with them. He must be of those who believe in Divinity, who trust in God's law, and follow His statutes.

[1] D, fol. 92, and C, fol. 48.
[2] *o. W*: in Heb.
[3] *o.* ins.: wakeful as the bee *W*.
[4] *o. W*: anxious as the spider.
[5] *o. W*: inquisitive as the cat.
[6] ins.: twittering as the swallow, sorrowing as the owl *W*.
[7] *W* adds: And above all I command thee and warn thee that thou shalt not make thyself hated by any man created by God in this world. For the first aim of reason, after belief in God, is the love of mankind.
[8] For this chapter *W* substitutes: I command and warn thee not to choose as wazīr a blue-eyed man, especially if he is ruddy; him beware of most of all; do not trust a man having these two characteristics with any of thy affairs; be carefully on your guard against him; beware also of your relatives as thou bewarest of the Indian snakes which kill with their look. And know that excessive ruddiness together with blue eyes is a sign of vileness and deceit and treachery and envy, essential in human nature, and grounded in the formation of man.

is he who believes in religion as well as in thy Law and faith. Take care that the same thing may not happen to thee which happened to two men who were going together on the way. One of them was a fire-worshipper and the other a Jew. The fire-worshipper was riding a mule which he had trained according to his own nature. And he had on the mule all his necessities. And the Jew was walking on foot. He had neither any provision nor any belongings. And while they were talking together the fire-worshipper said suddenly to the Jew: 'What is thy religion and faith?' The Jew replied: 'I believe that there is one God in Heaven and that I am His servant. I seek of Him good for myself and for him who agrees with me in faith. And I believe that it is lawful for me to shed the blood of one who is opposed to me in faith and religion, and to take possession of his property and wife and children. And it is forbidden for me to help, or advise him, or to associate with him, or to have pity or kindness on him. It is my faith and belief which I have informed thee of; now tell me what is thy faith and religion.'

The fire-worshipper replied: 'My faith is this that I wish well to myself and to my fellow beings. And I do not wish ill to any creature of God, whether he agrees with me in faith or not. And I believe that animals too should be treated with kindness and gentleness, and not maltreated or oppressed. For any pain inflicted on an animal reflects on me and causes me corresponding pain. And I love to see all happy and well.'

p. 145 Said the Jew: 'But if thou art treated with cruelty and oppression, what shalt thou do?' The fire-worshipper replied: 'I know that in Heaven there is a God who is all-knowing, just and wise. Nothing is hidden from Him of what His creatures do. He rewards those who do good for their good deeds and punishes the evil-doers for their evil actions.'

Then said the Jew: 'Why dost thou not follow thy religion and act according to thy belief?' 'How?' said the fire-worshipper. Said the Jew: 'I am thy fellow being, and thou seest that I am walking on foot, naked, tired, and hungry, while thou art riding and art satisfied and prosperous.' 'Thou art right,' said the fire-worshipper, and, coming down from his mule, he opened his satchel, and, giving food and drink to the Jew, mounted him on his mule.

The Jew, finding himself on the mule, spurred on and galloped away, leaving the fire-worshipper alone. The fire-worshipper ran

after him calling out: 'Stop, stop, I am dying!' The Jew called out in reply: 'Did I not inform thee of my creed, and didst thou not inform me of thine. As thou hast acted according to thy faith, I must act according to mine.' Thus saying he went away, leaving the Mage crying out: 'Alas, do not leave me alone in this desert, for wild beasts will eat me or I shall die of hunger and thirst. Have pity on me as I had on thee.' But the Jew paid no heed to him, and, galloping the mule, soon vanished from sight.

The Mage, despairing of the Jew, remembered the concluding part of his doctrine and faith that he had spoken to the Jew: 'There is a just God in heaven, from Whom nothing is hidden of the affairs of His creatures.' Therefore he raised up his head to heaven and said: 'O Lord, Thou knowest that I have faith in my religion, and I act according to it, and I praise Thee as Thou hast heard. Therefore, O Lord, prove those attributes of Thine to the Jew.' Thus saying he went on. Having gone a little way he p. 146
found that the mule had thrown down the Jew and broken his neck and a leg. The Jew was lying on one side and the mule was standing on the other. The mule seeing his master came near him. The Mage mounted on it and went away, leaving the Jew in the agonies of death. The Jew cried out: 'O Mage, I deserve now thy pity even more, as I am lying on the ground and am at the point of death. Therefore have compassion on me and carry out the injunctions of thy creed, even as thy creed has helped thee in punishing me. Verily I had committed no sin, as I had only acted upon my creed and that which had been taught to me by my parents and teachers.'

The Mage was moved with pity, and lifting him up on the mule brought him to the city and made him over to his relations. The Jew died after a few days. The king of that country hearing the account of the Jew and the Mage, made the latter his companion and friend. The Mage on account of his wisdom and sincerity of faith was soon made his Wazīr and one of the chosen grandees of his court.

Therefore see how God the great rewarded the Mage for his good faith and sincerity, and how He punished the Jew on account of his evil-mindedness and wickedness. Verily God compensates every one according to his faith and action, either in this world or in the next, and verily He does what He wills.[1]

[1] This story not in *A*.

[1] Discourse V.

On the writers of royal warrants and their ranks.

Section F It is necessary for thee, O Alexander, to select writers of thine orders [rolls], a thing which is the clearest index of the extent of thine intellect and the efficacy of thine understanding, and the opportunity for those virtues through which thou mayest become worthy of the name of good government among all thy nobles.[2] For the meaning of speech is the soul, and words the body, and writing the ornament. Therefore, as it is proper for a living rational being to be possessed of a good form and ornament, so
p. 147 it is necessary to employ such writers as would make use of perfect meanings and put them in beautiful words well written. [3] And as the scribe is thy confidant in secret matters he ought to be trustworthy, honest, acquainted with thy intentions and with the consequences of thy affairs. He should be sincerely thy well-wisher and faithful to thy interests. If it is not so he will destroy thee. It is also necessary that thou shouldst keep an eye on his doings, lest some extraneous matter come into thy books. Thou shouldst favour him according to his faithfulness and painstakings in thy interests, and give him the rank of one free-born, whose fortune or misfortune is bound up with thine.

[1] In *W* this is a part of Discourse IV.

[2] And for thy letters (which are the strongest proof of the extent of thy intelligence and understanding, and thy intention to those that read them) thou must choose a man who will not put thee in a position of blame in anything thou doest or thinkest, for these are the qualities by virtue of which thou art held worthy of the name of sovereignty by the world *W*.

[3] Thy scribes are thy presence and thy majesty. The kings of old gloried in their scribes, and they became distinguished and reached their high station only through their scribes. And right as he interprets thy will and takes heed of thy secrets and spreads thy glory through the whole world, so must thou protect his interests according to the service which he does to thee and after the manner in which he bears the burden of the affairs of thy kingdom. He must be unto thee as a part of thyself, his prosperity be thy prosperity, his loss thy loss. And if it is possible to make thy wazīr to be thy secretary, then do so, for it will raise higher his state and thy state and will add privacy to thy deliberations and thy secret things *W*.

[1] Discourse VI.

On his ambassadors, their qualities, and the policy to be observed in sending them. Section G

Know, O Alexander, may God help thee to the right, that the messenger is a proof of the wisdom of his sender. He is his eye in what he sees not himself, his ear in what he hears not in person, and his tongue in speaking for him in his absence. Therefore it is necessary that thou shouldst choose such men of thy court who are perfect in wisdom, judgement, dignity, appearance, and honesty, and who are beyond all suspicion. And when thou hast found a man of this sort, employ him as thy messenger, entrust him with thy message, and confide in him after that he knows thy desire. [2] And give him no further orders, since thou hast already examined his intelligence, eloquence and honesty, for probably he will discover the right course by himself. But if he be not possessed of these qualities, then let him be a trustworthy and faithful man, who will not add to or take from thy message, who will remember thy advice and carefully note what he hears both when receiving his message and its answer.

And if thou canst not find even such a one, then let him be a man possessed at least of faithfulness, who will deliver thy message in the right quarter and bring back to thee its answer. And if thou seest in thy messenger any greed of gain from the p. 148 place where thou wantest to send him, do not employ him, [3] for probably he will sacrifice thy interest for his own gain.

And do not employ one who drinks wine. Because the Persians used to press an ambassador to drink on his arrival to them. And if he did so, they knew that his state secrets would be revealed to them. And they used to offer him much wealth, which, if he took, they knew that his kingdom was in their hands.

And beware, O Alexander, of sending thy wazīr on an embassy, and thus giving him an opportunity of leaving thy presence; for verily in it there lies the corruption of thy state. And all the qualities required for ambassadors that I have enumerated above

[1] This is Discourse V in *W*, headed 'On Messengers', and comes after the next discourse.

[2] And do not give him orders as to the future, for it is possible that when he comes to it, the right thing to do will be otherwise *W*.

[3] for the money will not be given him for thy profit but thy hurt *W*.

depend on trustworthiness and faithfulness. [1]And if these are wanting he will betray thee on the receipt of presents and bribes; he will commit perfidy in the duties thou hast entrusted to him; and thine administration will suffer in proportion to his treachery.

[2] Discourse VII.

On the superintendents of his subjects and their taxes.

Section H Thou hast known, O Alexander, that the subject is thy treasury, which is safe from extinction and certain of perpetuity, and by which thy government is established. Therefore consider thy people as a garden in which there are many trees, and do not consider it as a harvest which is to be gained only once in a year and has to be re-sown in the next year. [Because trees of standing
p. 149 roots have not to be sown every year, except in rare cases. Therefore thine own position depends upon the state of thy exchequer, for it is the support of thy state and sovereignty (B. C.).]

And, as the subject is thy treasure and the means of the existence of thy state, it is necessary for thee to cherish them, to consult their interests, and to prevent them from such things as are harmful to them. And do not appoint any overseer of their lives and properties except one who is well acquainted with their affairs, who is independent, trustworthy, honest, and faithful: who would pick for thee their fruits without destroying the trees: who is clement, patient, and forbearing, because if he is not so, he will repel men and corrupt pure minds.

And do not employ too many superintendents to administer thy revenues, lest it may produce corruption. Because each one will wish to prevail against his fellow by corruption, and seek to benefit at the expense of the people and collect taxes for his own aggrandisement, and favour such as help him in his position and assist him in his falsehood, [3]and God knoweth best.

[1] For the messenger without these qualities will betray thee by taking money and gifts and will deceive thee in the object of his mission; you will suffer loss in your affairs according to this treachery, therefore keep in mind this point and you shall be safe, if it please God *W*.

[2] This is headed in *W*: 'Discourse on the Subjects', and is the last section of Discourse IV.

[3] so that loss will result to thee *W*.

[1] Discourse VIII.

On the policy regarding the officers of his army and the soldiers. *Section I*

O Alexander, armies are the essence of state and the glory of the empire. And thy sovereignty depends upon the method thou employest in arranging thine army, which should be such that thou shouldst remain acquainted with the affairs of all of them whether far or near, and it should be easy for thee to know p. 150 their number, and to call [2] any number thou wantest without delay or confusion. The least number of the chief officers should be four. Verily I have said 'four' because there are four [3] points of the earth: back, front, right, and left, and so are there four cardinal points: north, south, east, and west. Therefore appoint an officer to each point. But if thou wantest more, let there be ten. Because ten is the perfection of four, since in the number four there is one, two, three, four, which when added gives ten, so that it is the perfect number, which is comprehended by four.

And let each one of the officers (Amīrs) have under him ten sub-officers (naḳībs), each of whom, in his turn, should have under him ten other officers (ḳā'ids), and each ḳā'id ten 'arīfs, and each 'arīf ten privates. All of these make a hundred thousand warriors. So when thou wishest to guard one direction with ten thousand men order all the sub-officers (naḳībs) with ten ḳā'ids each, i. e. 100; and draft with each ḳā'id ten 'arīfs, i. e. 1,000; and draft with each 'arīf ten privates, i. e. 10,000. And when thou wishest one hundred men order only a single ḳā'id, and let there be drafted with him ten 'arīfs, each having ten men under him, which amounts to one hundred. And if thou wantest only ten men thou hast to order a single 'arīf, and let there be drafted with him ten men.

Thus thy labour will be lessened and time saved for other p. 151 affairs. As every one has to look after ten men only, there is less

[1] Discourse six, 'on soldiers' *W.* Book VIII *H.*

[2] Alexander, the knights are the best part of the kingdom and the glory of the dynasty, and it is meet to lean on the pleasing ornament and the excellent order in the degrees of knights, so that nothing that is nigh or far concerning them should be unknown to thee, for thou wilt be able to call without any difficulty *W.*

[3] winds and four *W.*

confusion in the forces, their duties are simplified, and thine own business is kept well arranged.

There is also necessary for an army a prudent, learned, trustworthy, and honest writer,[1] skilful in discernment in order that no error may arise in the army in distributing their allowances, whereby their minds should be corrupted. And when thou hast come to know anything of that kind in him remove him from them. Let his dismissal be done before them publicly so that they may know why he has been dismissed. The writer should, moreover, be good natured and easy of access. He should not be irascible and should not employ himself in any other occupation except that of serving their interests.

Thou must also possess the instrument which is needed by kings in peace and war, and wealth, whether thou movest or remainest still.[2]

[1] who knows the characters of the men and is proved in chivalry, and who will not suffer that they be corrupted by gifts, thereby destroying their allegiance. *W.*

[2] *C* and *D* read: And it is necessary that there should be with thee the instrument which has been invented by Yayastayus for frightening [the enemy]. It is a dread-producing machine which is used for various purposes. Because whenever thou needest to warn all the country and to collect thy forces for battle or for fortification, or any other necessary purpose, and the soldiers are heavy in moving, its sound will be heard for sixty miles. Its shape is this: (*diagram*).

And it needs that there be a watchman over them to bring them to reverence and honour thee. They must not be allowed to approach thee too closely when they come to pay homage to thee. Do not give them access to speak with thee either in public or in private, for that may be a cause for them to be frivolous and hold thee lightly, as it happened to Blstus (Tamstius H.) the king and other kings.

Accustom them to bring their likes and dislikes before thee in writing. They should be forwarded to thee by men who are close to thee and who are worthy of that high station. And decide everything in presence of thy wazīr and secretary, and to those that deserve consideration ratify it on the back of his letter, for thereby thou showest honour to the petitioner, and he will glory in it hereafter; and he will become more strongly attached to thy service, and strengthened in his allegiance to thee. But what is not worthy of consideration then leave it. And give them a banquet on certain occasions and on festivals, for they consider it a very great honour, and thou art loved by them on that account *W.*

[1] DISCOURSE IX.

The conduct of wars, their strategies, and how to avoid their evil consequences; the order to be observed in meeting the enemy, and the chosen times for doing so. Section K

O ALEXANDER, do not take part in battles in person, and let the great dignitaries of thy court be always in thy attendance, and do not follow the example of the foolish in bringing together thy men.[2] For verily I swear by God, that whenever two kings have come together, one of them has planned some stratagem or other for the undoing of the other. This exists in human nature. Therefore think of what Cain did to Abel his brother. And it is certain that envy and the love of worldly possessions led him to do that. p. 152

And know, O Alexander, that war has a body and a soul, and its very existence depends upon two contending opposites. The soul of these two contending forces is the belief of victory entertained by each one of the two parties, and their body is the meeting of the two armies. And no sooner does one of the parties lose its faith in its own success than the war dies. And it continues as long as each party entertains hopes of overcoming the other. Therefore let thy efforts be directed towards rousing the zeal of thy troops and impressing upon them that thou wilt be successful and that thou hast proofs thereof. Show it to them by learned arguments whereby their souls may be strengthened.

Talk to them familiarly and promise them gifts and rewards, p. 153
which thou must perform in time.[3]

And know that thou fightest either in aggression or self-defence. Therefore if thou meetest one who has invaded thee,[4] let thy efforts be directed towards securing a strong defence, well fortified with instruments of war, watch-keepers, and scouts who should keep up a look-out night and day. Let thy camp be against the side of a mountain, or be situated close to it, and let there be plenty of water and provisions in it, although they mayest not need them..

[1] Discourse on wars *W*. Book IX *H*.

[2] Do not undertake war alone; you have need of the great in thy court, and do not meet kings *W*.

[3] and threaten the timid and show courage *W*.

[4] Do not set thy camp in an open field or in a narrow and enclosed place. And if thou settest thy camp and that of thy followers in an open field, then try to protect thyself with all kinds of arms *W*.

And let there be plenty of frightening and terrific sound-producing instruments,[1] for verily they will inspire thy men with courage and those of thy enemy with fear. And let thy army be clad in different kinds of armour—some of them in mail shirts, others in cuirasses, and some in horse-armour. And when thou sendest out a detachment to meet the enemy, send with them the artistic images, wooden battlements with archers inside them, and incendiary machines. They will help to inspire thy men with confidence and hy enemies with fear, and they will pelt thy enemies with arrows and fire.

Draw up thy army in the order we have described before, and put thy swordmen and wrestlers on the right hand, and the spearmen on the left, and thy javelin throwers, archers, throwers of fire, producers of frightening noises, and makers of various motions in the centre. And let this force occupy a raised ground overlooking the enemy. Thus they shall have to look up at thee, and watch thee, and, knowing that thou art watching all their movements, they shall fear thee.

Thou shouldst watch thy enemy attentively, and when thou seest disorder in any part of the enemy's forces direct thy attack on that part. And use firmness,[2] which is a great help. Verily very few armies have been defeated in ancient times except by
p. 154 losing heart and giving way to fear. Employ numbers of men to lie in ambush[3] and produce frightening noises. It is a means of giving an exaggerated opinion of the number of thy forces and of inspiring thy men with joy and courage.

Thou shouldst make use of covered pitfalls and slippery ditches in the path of the enemy whenever they are found necessary, for wars are carried on by stratagem, and keep away thy own men from them.[4] And keep with thee many beasts of burden[5] of Khurāsān, for they frighten the horses, and they will form a refuge in the time of need.

[1] instruments which cause dread and trembling, which I made for thee when thou didst engage in battle against Nahalah (Blhh. H.) the Indian. When they heard those frightful noises their hearts quaked, the horses ran away, and thy victory was due to this. It is needful that thou dost control the army so that thou knowest what is good for them and what is bad, for when they perceive it they will be careful and fear thee *W.*

[2] act with deliberation *W.*

[3] with fire *W.*

[4] Make thee those terrible instruments called Almhavi in some countries where thou wagest war, and protect thy cavalry from them *W.*

[5] pack horses and elephants *W.*

And if thou art laying siege to thy enemy use heavy stone-throwing machines, as catapults and slings, and make use of poisoned arrows. And if thou gettest possession of their watering place poison it, and undermine their fortifications. And be on thy guard against night attacks, for it is a matter to beware of. By means of night attacks armies are routed, and wealth, arms, and beasts are plundered.[1]

And do not pursue a defeated enemy to a long distance, for it is an act of treachery and cruelty. And, if thou canst, let all thy affairs be strategetic and cunning, and let fighting be thy last resource. To do so is more prudent for the safety of honour and position, and for the preservation of thy army. The Indians are possessed of cunning and treachery in war, and they have no bravery.[2] And the Scythians have determination but no power, and the Dailamites can strike heavily, but are low-spirited and have no courage. And the Turks are possessed of great courage and much stupidity, but are suitable for war. Therefore employ plenty of them and keep them nearest thy person of all thy troops. And thou shouldst pit against each of the nation soldiers of their own kind.[3] And do not let a small mattter grow great, but settle it before it attains importance. And let all thy affairs, public or private, be guided by the approval of astrology, as I have men- p. 155
tioned before.

O Alexander, when thou intendest to tie thy standards, let it be *Section L*
done in the ascendant of the sign Leo, and let the moon and its friend be sound (auspicious). And let the moon be in a good position in the ascendant. And let the lord of the ascendant be in one of the houses of Mars. And let the moon be overlooked by Mars from the third house. See that every work thou desirest p. 156
is naturally in accordance with the planets and their houses, and see that the planets and signs connected with the nature [of the work] are auspicious, for this is the chief matter. Remember

[1] And if thou assailest castles make thee the weapon which I have invented for thee, that throws stones from afar and destroys the buildings, and throws down the walls, and make as many of them as thou standest in need of. And they are, namely, catapults and instruments that shoot poisoned arrows, and battering rams, and place upon them the bows and screws, for it terrifies stout hearts and shakes castles. If thou seizest their water, pour into it deadly poison, and guard against it thyself, for it is necessary to be exceeding careful *W.*

[2] no evil befalls them *W.*

[3] Therefore fight with each of them in the manner that is convenable *W.*

prudence and resolve and obedience if thou wouldst be rightly guided. If thou desirest this, make the ascendant the road, and the seventh (house) the town and place thou journeyest to, and the tenth (house) the object of thy journey, and the stake of the earth its result.

Beware of starting on a journey when the moon is unlucky, or under the rays, or in the sixth or twelfth. Also beware of Mercury being under the rays of the sun or in retrograde. But when it is auspiciously in the ascendant it is a sign of success. Especially if it is Jupiter, and it is in the middle of the sky, it predicts the fulfilment of the object and its completion. And if it is in the seventh house, it foretells the success of the action, joy and happiness, and attainment of the object. And if it is in the stake of the earth, it prophesies a completion of the matter and a good result. But beware of the moon being in the act of coming out of the house fourth to the sun. And if thou findest auspicious planets overlooking the sun from the fourth house thou shalt soon return safe and successful.

And if thou startest on war, let the lord of the ascendant be in the house of Mars, in the middle of the sky, and let Mars be overlooking it with a friendly aspect. Let Jupiter be in the fourth house, and let the moon be good, for it is in all journeys the most potent sign.

Section M *On the Victorious and the Defeated.*[1]

An indispensable thing for thee, O Alexander, is this, that thou shouldst find out the name of the person thou art going to fight with, and do not engage in battle unless victory can be computed. This is one of my secrets which I used to practise when I was in thy royal company, concealing it from thee, and which I am now disclosing to thee, according to our covenant. It is one of those mysterious sciences which God has inspired me with and directed me to, through His mercy and wisdom.[2]

[1] 'Discourse on the numbers of the victorious and the defeated' *W.* Book X *H.*

[2] Know, O Alexander, this is the secret which I made for thee when thou didst go forth against thy enemies to battle, and when thou didst send thy servants. And this is one of the Divine secrets with which the Lord has entrusted me; I have tried its truth and proved its use, and I have profited by it. Thou hast asked after it and I hid it from thee and gave thee only the benefit of it. Now I show it to thee on condition that thou mayest not reveal it but act upon it only, and thou wilt never fail, and it [the secret]

ا A (1). ب B (2). ج J (3). د D (4). ه H (5). و W (6). ز Z (7). ح Ḥ (8). ط Ṭ (9).

ي Y (10). ك K (20). ل L (30). م M (40). ن N (50). س S (60). ع ʿ (70). ف F (80). ص Ṣ (90).

ق Q (100). ر R (200). ش SH (300). ت T (400). ث TH (500). خ KH (600). ذ DH (700). ض Ḍ (800). ظ Ẓ (900).

غ (1,000).[1]

O Alexander, count the numbers of the letters of the names of the commanders of both the armies, according to the above table. Then divide the total of each name by 9, and keep in thy mind the remainder of each. If the number is divided equally and nothing remain then take 9 for the remainder. Then predict according to the following table, which is correct and unfailing, and do thou note it well.[2]

If the remainders are 1 and 9, 1 will overcome 9. If 1 and 8, eight beats one, 1 and 7, one beats, 1 and 6, six beats, 1 and 5, one beats, 1 and 4, four beats, 1 and 3, one beats, 1 and 2, two beats, 1 and 1, the aggressor wins.

Second Table.

If 2 and 9 are left, the 9 shall be victorious. If 2 and 8, two will overcome the eight, 2 and 7, seven will overcome the two, 2 and 6, two will overcome the six, 2 and 5, five will overcome the two, 2 and 4, two will overcome the four, 2 and 3, three will overcome the two, 2 and 2, the aggressor shall be victorious, 2 and 1, f. 57 two shall overcome the one.

is that thou goest not to fight thine enemy until thou hast found by this calculation that thou art sure to conquer. And if it be not advantageous to thee, then calculate the names of thy servants, and appoint over the army only the one who according to these calculations is sure to win. And in such manner shalt thou reckon: get the sum of the names of the generals. And of thy name, keep the sum of each of them, then from the sum-total of each of these names subtract as many nines as it contains, and put aside the remainder under nine that is left, and thus proceed with the second name; whatever remains less than nine, or nine, of the second put also aside. Then look at the table which I have written for thee, and compare it with the remainder of the sums of the two names: what thou findest therein believe, for it is true, and by the help of the Lord thou shalt never be led astray *W*.

[1] The numeral values are inserted by the translator.

[2] table, and thou shalt find the matter as I have mentioned to you, if God will *W*.

Third Table.

If 3 and 9 are left, three shall win, 3 and 8 are left, eight shall win, 3 and 7 are left, three shall win, 3 and 6 left, six shall win, 3 and 5 left, three shall win, 3 and 4 left, four shall win, 3 and 3, the aggressor shall win.

Fourth Table.

If 4 and 9 are left, nine shall win, 4 and 8 are left, four shall win, 4 and 7 left, seven shall win, 4 and 6 left, four shall win, 4 and 5 left, five shall win, 4 and 4 left, the aggressor shall win.[1]

Fifth Table.

If 5 and 9 are left, five shall win, 5 and 8 left, eight shall win, 5 and 7 left, five shall win, 5 and 6 left, six shall win, 5 and 5, the aggressor shall win.

Sixth Table.

If 6 and 9 are left, nine shall win, 6 and 8 left, eight shall win, 6 and 7 left, seven shall win, 6 and 6 left, the aggressor shall win.[1]

Seventh Table.

If 7 and 9 are left, seven shall win, 7 and 8 left, eight shall win, 7 and 7, the aggressor shall win.

Eighth Table.

If 8 and 9 are left, nine shall win, if 8 and 8 are left, the aggressor shall win.[1]

Ninth Table.

If nine are left in both, the aggressor shall win.

Therefore study this science, O Alexander, and practise it according to thy wisdom and understanding. Thou shalt be victorious and successful, if God wishes.

Section N DISCOURSE X.

p. 157 [2] *On Talismans. On the secrets of Astrology, winning of hearts, and the virtues of stones, plants, &c.*

O ALEXANDER, thou hast understood from what I have previously written to you more than once that the essence of the

[1] the challenged beats the challenger *W*.

[2] *W* reads: 'The discourse on special arts and natural secrets, and the properties of precious stones and pearls'.

Thou knowest already, from that which I have mentioned hitherto unto thee, and of what I have repeated unto thee over and over again, that the

whole world, low or high, near or far, is one and the same. There is no variety in its substance, but there is variety in its accidents. And its existence depends upon images and forms. Hence there is no variety in itself, but there is a great variety in its forms. Therefore the first variety which thou seest in the physical world

essence of all that is in this whole world, above and below, the near and the far, are one without difference in their essence; the difference is merely an accident which is divided into form and appearance. And since the substance does not change, the cause of the change lies outside it, and the whole material world which thou seest consists of four substances, and these are the four elements, and out of these are then born the mineral, vegetable, and animal worlds, and the moving agent is the sphere that surrounds them all. Each of them is subdivided into smaller sections, which are species and kins. If I should attempt to explain or to mention them all, it would take me too long, nor is this the object of my book. For my real object therein is to fulfil my promise, and to tell thee some of the riddles of this great secret. Now that I have explained it to thee in what precedes, thou art sure to know and to find that my word is true. I will now mention unto thee the virtues of precious stones, for they may prove to be of great benefit unto thee with the help of God, for it is needful that thou know them.

The stone Bazhar (bezoar). This is a Persian name, and means 'averts misfortune', others say it means 'tightens the wind'. It is of a two-fold colour, one yellow like a piece of wax, and the other olive-green with green streaks, looking like a sallow piece of leather: this is the best, and it is dug up in the land of China. It is said that it is found also in the poison of snakes. Its property is that it protects against all manner of poisons, of beasts, plants, and minerals, and of the bite and sting of insects. He who drinks of it twelve grains weight will be saved from death, and the poison will pass out in the sweat. He who puts it in a ring on his hand will be reverenced by the people and by all who behold him. If it be ground to powder and strewn on the bite of a reptile it will draw the poison out, and even should the place have started to putrefy it will still be healed; and if there be ground of the powder two barley corns weight, and melt and throw it into the mouth of vipers and reptiles, it will suffocate and kill them. And if some of it is hung round the neck of a child it becomes proof against epilepsy and any other evil occurrence; it saves it from bad accidents.

The pearl. There are three kinds, red, yellow, and black, and it is the most splendid of its kind. He who sets in his ring or hangs round his neck any of these three kinds of pearls, and comes into a town where there is plague, no illness that happened to the inhabitants shall touch him. Whosoever puts on his hands a ring with a red pearl in it will be courageous and much honoured in the eyes of the people. Whosoever engraves on it the likeness of a lion and the constellation Leo with the sun inside, and the rays darting out afar, none will overcome him and his affairs will be easy to him . . .

(cetera desunt in *W.* The remainder is probably §§ 132, 134, and 135 of Gaster's version).

is of four kinds, i. e. the four elements, and of those things which are created from them, viz. the mineral, vegetable, and the animal kingdoms. And every physical body in the universe has its prototype in the spiritual world, the latter being the cause of the existence of the former, and ruler over it.

Hence all physical forms are governed by their relative heavenly bodies. This law of nature has given rise to the science of talismans. These ethereal bodies are fixed in the heavenly spheres, and the seven governing planets reflect their forms in their own lights, as the eye and polished bodies reflect the forms and images of material objects, and thence they cast down their shadows
p. 158 towards the earth according to the decree of their Painter and Maker. Then everything in the mineral, vegetable, or animal kingdom is stamped with those types of which it is capable.

And know that everything receives a perfect or an imperfect stamp of those heavenly types according to the duration of its exposure to it. And the influence of the heavenly type thus remaining on the earth is used in making Talismans.

The best Talisman is that of Saturn, who is the Elder and the father of all other planets. Next to it is that of Jupiter who is the sage of the heavens. Next to it is that of the smaller luminary (moon) who is swift of motion and master of many wonders. And let thy observation be made at a time when its light is not cut by its vicinity to the other planets, and its rays auspicious, if the talisman is made for the good of anything, and otherwise if it is prepared for the ill of any one. And I shall give thee an example of it which is indispensable for thee. And I shall explain to thee the method of procedure, God willing.

And know that those who are endowed with clear intellect and good memory for acquiring knowledge, and who can find out the hidden through that which is apparent to them, having reached to hidden truths of this deep and mysterious science, they observed extreme caution and miserliness in communicating it to others, although it is of such a universal benefit. They did so from the
p. 159 fear that they may come to share this knowledge with those who did not possess sufficient understanding for it, and because God's wisdom has decreed that His gifts should not be equally divided among His creatures. But, thanks to God, thou art not one of those who are debarred from knowing these mysteries, but thou art fully worthy of it. And when one desires something he seeks

it, and he who seeks (and labours) deserves success, either by his reaching his object or his object coming to him.

How many secrets and mysteries, partial and universal, there are in this world! People pass by them turning their faces away from them, without seeing them or understanding them! It is because their minds are bent on something else and their objects are different. Now I am going to inform thee of those things which thou canst perceive in this world with thy senses. They are of two classes, matter and form. Form continually exists without increase or diminution. But matter does not exist at all times. You see only the forms of animals, vegetables, and minerals externally existent. They never grow more or less. It is only matter of which they are composed in various combinations of the elements[1] that is not constant; while matter may be massed together or diffused, form remains permanent and changeless.

And the cause of the permanence of forms is the reflection of their types from the planets as mentioned before.[2] But this reflection too undergoes continual changes according to the p. 160
motions of its planet. And their continuance depends upon their increasing action on matter. And the motions, powers, and actions of those forms are according to the temperaments of their planets.[3] And the property that prevails most on the actions of the forms shall also prevail most on the temperaments of their bodies, as God has willed it.

Therefore it is necessary for thee, according to what I have said and explained, that thou shouldst know the motions of the celestial sphere, and its signs and planets [and the fixed and retrograde stars and the signs of Sagittarius, Pisces, Gemini, and Virgo (B)]. And that thou shouldst know the various spiritual bodies working on the signs and the planets. And that thou shouldst know the

[1] *B* reads (after 'combinations of the elements'): of familiar and contrary parts, which are continually composing and decomposing.

[2] *B* reads (after 'from the planets as mentioned before'): For the planets are continually undergoing changes of conditions and never stay in one condition. Therefore it is evident what I have told thee, that celestial forms are reflected in the lights of the planets which are intermediaries between them and the elements.

'And thence those forms are reflected on the elements which receive their impressions according to their capabilities (and their continuance depends, &c.).

[3] *B* adds: and their climate.

motions of the seven planets and of the head and tail of the dragon. And that thou shouldst know all about their conjunction, moving forward, aspect of one another from the third house, fourth house, and the sixth house, their ascendancies, and descendancies, their limits and directions, and how they happen to agree and disagree among themselves. How they receive light or reject it.

Thou must particularly know how to find out the correct nativity with or without an astrolabe. And thou shouldst know
f. 60 A the stakes and the stars on their right and left. How long it takes a planet to pass through a sign, its middle and the direction of its rays. Thou must know all this with extreme correctness and observation. Thou shalt be mostly concerned with the hours of the rising of auspicious planets, their length and breadth, rising and setting.

And when thou hast known all this, together with what has been taught to thee before about the knowledge of minerals and
p. 161 vegetables, their connexions with the planets, and the knowledge of the relationship of each part of the body of the physical objects, mineral, vegetable or animal, with the planets, thou shalt know that everybody is ascribed to one planet generally and to several planets partially. Man, for instance, is ascribed to the Sun,[1] but in detail his head also is related to the Sun. Similarly minerals are related to Saturn, and specifically lead is also related to the same planet. Likewise every organism and every member of it.

Therefore when thou desirest to bind those spiritual, living and potent powers to these compound bodies, and thou knowest already the connexions of the latter with the planets in general and detail, thou shouldst find out its nativity, and the nativity required for thy purpose, the governing spirit of that nativity.

Let Saturn be confronting it or looking at it with the aspect of friendship. And let the direction of its rays be towards the country thou art in. And never commit an error in thy operation.
p. 162 Let the moon be adjacent to the head and tail of the dragon and auspicious to thy work.

Then fix the heavenly form of nativity to its relative body. Then thou shalt see from its action and powers what will astonish and please thee, if God wishes.

[1] *B* reads: the Moon.

And, O Alexander, this is a Talisman that endows one with sovereignty and dignity. It secures the submission and obedience of the people and inspires enemies with fear and trembling. It afflicts enemies with sickness. It creates love and hatred, and does many other wonders too numerous to relate and describe in detail. It possesses a potent virtue of wardmg off evils and harms. I shall explain it to thee according to what the greatest philosophers and mighty men in deed and position have entrusted me with. And I have buried its knowledge among the secrets of the earth and hidden mysteries. And I have never revealed it to any one. And I find thee worthy of learning this great secret. Therefore be happy and truly guided by it, God willing.

Take the substance of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and the moon in equal parts, and add to them the essence of the highest one of them, i. e. Saturn, equal to the weight of all. Add a quantity of gold proportionate to its intermediate relationship. Let the ascendant at the time of the operation be Leo, and let the Sun be in the thirteenth degree from Aries, in strength, ascendancy, and overlooking it. Let Saturn be in Aquarius, and let the Moon be sound, and in the third degree from Taurus. Let Jupiter be with Sagittarius, Mars in Virgo, Venus in Taurus, and Mercury in Virgo or in its ascendancy. But the best time that can be desired is when the Moon is in conjunction with the Sun, and Jupiter is in some good and agreeable situation. If possible let it be when Jupiter is at its height and strength and Saturn looking at it with a benign aspect, and each one of them should be throwing its look upon another (i. e. its rays) after receiving light. And beware of the time when the master of the middle of the heavens should be of a weak light. And let the fixed stars be in the degrees of their auspiciousness.

When all the above conditions have been complied with, gather together all the substances by melting them on Thursday morning in the hour of Jupiter. Then make out of it a signet ring. Inlay it with a square piece of red ruby and engrave upon it the image of a lion with a black man riding on it. Let there be a standard in his hand, and let him have two wings, and a crown on his head. Let there be in front of him six men without beards and having wings like some kind of birds.

Having done all that wear that ring on thy finger, for in it there lies all the benefits enumerated above. Verily herein I have

given thee away the greatest secret. May God help thee to preserve it, and may He guide thee to its true knowledge.[1]

And know, O Alexander, that I am going to impart to thee a secret of divine knowledge which has been strictly guarded and preserved, and regarding the secrecy and inviolability of which sages and philosophers have taken mutual promises and oaths, in order that it may not fall into the hands of a weaver, horse-doctor, blacksmith, and carpenter who may cause corruption in the earth, and destroy agriculture and procreation. Take the egg that is created in the air, and hatch it under a white bird. There shall come out of it a chicken. Slaughter it. Out of it there shall flow red, white, and yellow blood. The red blood will be of thy purpose and will produce the result of the operation. And the talisman is this :—

(cabalistic signs).

Having written it thus, leave it. And when it is the night of Mercury fumigate it with a triple incense consisting of ingredients related to air and fire, and go around it calling out the names of Mercury. And they are :

(a list in cabalistic signs).

And when it is the night of Jupiter fumigate it with a quadruple incense composed of animal, mineral, and vegetable substances, and go around it seven times calling out the names of Jupiter. And they are :

(cabalistic signs).

And when it is the night of Venus fumigate it with an incense of fine ingredients, and go around it seven times, calling out the names of Venus. And they are :

(cabalistic signs).

And when it is the night of Saturn fumigate it with transparent, vegetable, fiery and liquid aloes (or incense). Go around it seven times invoking Saturn by its names. And they are :

(cabalistic signs).

Fumigate it for the rest of the night, then leave it aside. And when it is the night of Thursday disclose it to the stars, and fumigate it with an incense composed of the seven ingredients mentioned before. Go around it (while fumigating it) 49 times,

[1] pp. 258^{3}–259^{24} only in *B*.

and call out, at the end of every week, the name of a certain planet. Then call out the names of the Sun. And they are:

(cabalistic signs).

And when thou hast completed all this verily the kingdom of the world will be thine.

And the sign of it to thee will be the coming of the spirits to thee in thy sleep, and their informing thee of the acceptance of thy operation (and the success of thy work).

And when thou desirest to call the operation (into action) fast that day, and break thy fast (at the end of the day) with some food that is not usual with thee. Then sleep on thy left side and hang the signet ring round thy neck opposite to thy heart. And call upon the spirit to show thee (in dreams) what thou hopest for.

Then thou shalt see some one whom thou canst consult either in person or power. Then disclose to him thy object. He will guide thee to it.

And whenever this signet ring is borne around the neck by the general of an army, who invokes Mars at all times, he never meets with an opponent without routing him and becoming victorious. And whenever any man holds it he acquires honour and power.

And thou, O Alexander, needest no other charm except this one alone. Therefore I am not giving thee any other (in detail). Make use of it in all thy affairs. May God the Mighty help and guide thee).[1]

And the wonders of Talismans, O Alexander, are many. If there had been no other Talisman than that of Zarzoori which is made of the down of olives, and which was invented by Hermes the great, it would have sufficed. Thus Rome, which has no olives, is the most abundant in them of God's lands, without planting trees, having gardens, or undergoing any pain or weariness.

Then there is the Talisman invented by Balbas or Arinush the King of Persia. When a tempestuous wind blows sufficient almost to destroy men (this talisman) will silence it, (if God the Almighty permit).

There is another well-known Talisman which extinguishes fire, and no one can kindle the fire again till they ask help of it.

And the Talisman I had made for thee for the destruction of

[1] pp. 259^{25}–260^{27} only in *C.*

serpents, scorpions, leopards, and other deadly and harmful animals. It was so efficacious that no venomous beast or reptile was to be found in the land where thou didst chance to be.

And when thou didst desire to invade India, and the Indians had formed a barrier between thee and themselves, I rent the earth and destroyed their ramparts without any harm coming to thee (by permission of God the Almighty).

And the mirror I have fixed for thee at Alexandria which is one of the wonders of the world. And the mirror I have established at the gate of thy palace which reveals hidden things and thefts, and in which any one can see his lost property and its situation.

And the Talisman which I have made for thy hunting, It is carried on the top of a spear in front of thee, and by its virtue wild animals come right close to thee and cannot see thee.

And the Talisman of the brazen image which I have planted for thee on the rock on the sea-shore at the town of Alexandria, to which the fish come from all directions so that they can be caught with the hand without casting nets or any other trouble. And thou hast many other wonderful things made by me which are too numerous to mention.

And thou hast seen, O Alexander, what happened to thee with regard to the Talisman which was bound for the protection of the buried treasure I told you of in the pyramid of Hayatil.[1] It has caused the people, whom thou hast ordered to dig it, to go to sleep, so that I made for thee a Talisman to counteract its action, and thou didst gain that treasure.

Some[2] historians say that there was found in this treasure, on which there was a Talisman, a tomb made of gold, whose length was 10 yards, height 2 yards, and breadth (on the top) a span. Inside the tomb there was found a coffin in which there was a corpse perfectly preserved in body, hair, and eyes. On its head there was a crown weighing 10 ratls, made of a single piece of red ruby. And under the corpse there were spread large pearls of great value. On the chest of the corpse there was a tablet of emerald, 3 yards long and 1 yard wide. In it there was found the following inscription in Syriac letters:

'In the name of God the most compassionate, the most

[1] Haital, name of a place beyond the Oxus.

[2] This episode is found only in *A*.

merciful. Everything that has a beginning has an end. I ruled over the four inhabited quarters of the globe for one thousand years. The total revenue of my empire in one day was equal to this tomb in weight and to its contents in value. And the Sun, Moon, and Wind used to obey me. I had found out the secret of nature, and had acquired the extreme knowledge of creation. And I ascended to the heavenly assembly with my pure spiritual essence according to the pleasure and acceptance of its maker, and I left this composite, earthly temple to corruption and annihilation. In order that one who comes after me should know that the real sovereign is one who never dies, and the true lord is He who is supreme in His power, may His name be blessed and glorified.'

Information on the sublimation of hard substances, and the *Section P* spirits, to which belongs the eagle, one of the birds of prey. Similarly all that is in the stones which I mention to you here is according as I have described.

I am going to impart to thee here a mighty secret; may God p. 114, l. 25 help thee to guard it and improve thee by the knowledge of it, if it be His will.

Take the animal, vegetable, and mineral stone, the stone which is neither a stone, nor has the nature of a stone, although it is created resembling some stones of mountains and mines, for it also resembles vegetables and animals. And it exists in every place and time, and with every man. And it has all colours, and p. 115 in it there are present all the elements. It is the microcosm. I shall name it to thee according to its common name. Take the egg, I mean the philosopher's egg. Divide it into four parts, each part being a nature [or element]. Then compound it equally and temperately in such a way that the various parts should join but not counteract each other. Thy object shall be fulfilled by the power and will of God. These are general directions. Now I shall give thee detailed directions. The four kinds cannot be divided except by means of an undestructive fire. When thou hast separated the water from the air, air from fire, and fire from earth, then thou hast succeeded in the method by the help of God. Then operate upon the substance of air and earth by moistening and heating until they come to resemble each other. Then they shall agree with one another and lose their opposition to one another. Then add to them the two

active forces of water and fire. The operation will be complete. Then, when thou shalt lift up the water by itself, it shall be white, and when thou shalt lift up the fire alone, it shall be red.

And truly has our ancestor Hermes Trismegistus said:

There is no doubt that the lower from the higher and the p. 116 higher from the lower produces wonders from one single operation.

As all things have been created from a single essence.

Whose father is the Sun and mother the Moon.

It has been impregnated with the air. The earth has sucked it from its teats.

It is the father of all talismans, the treasure of all wonders, and perfect in its powers.

And if it becomes earth, the earth is separated from fine and pure fire by means of gentle operation and wisdom.

It ascends from the earth to the heavens and descends again to the earth.

p. 117 And thus it acquires both the higher and the lower powers.

If thou possessest it thou possessest the light of all lights, and therefore darkness flees away from thee. It is the power of powers which overcomes every ethereal object.

And which penetrates through every solid object.

According to the disposition of the Mighty and the Omniscient. This is my glory, and it is for this reason that I have named Hermes Trismegistus [that maketh three] owing to the wisdom which has been revealed to me.[1]

Section K Some wonderful properties of stones, their properties and peculiarities.

p. 118 The stone which overcomes water and wind.[2] Thou shalt find it dry and developing in the sea. Its property is this, that when thou hast taken it, and hast tied a piece of it weighing 8 carats to thy standard, no army shall confront thy standard without being routed.

There are two other stones which are found near the perpetual darkness. One of them is white and the other red. They will be found in a river of fresh water. Their peculiarity is that the

[1] This section is found only in *A*.

[2] *C* adds: Thou shalt find it floating on the surface of water when the water is flowing, turning away with the wind, and thou shalt find it appearing in the frequented sea. Its property . . .

white one appears on the surface of the water at the setting of the sun. It remains apparent till midnight when it is fully visible. Thenceforth it begins to sink and disappear until the rising of the sun, when it completely disappears. And the red stone is its contrary. It appears at the rising of the sun, and remains apparent till midday, after which it appears and disappears until the disappearance of the sun. The property of the above two stones is this, that when thou hast hung a piece of the red stone weighing two carats on the forehead of a horse it shall not cease from neighing as long as the stone is there. And the action of the white stone is contrary to that. A horse shall never neigh as long as that stone is on his forehead. And the latter stone is useful in night attacks and ambushes. Another virtue of these two stones is this, that when two litigants come to thee, place the white one on the mouth of one of them; if he is right he shall be able to speak, otherwise he shall not be able to utter a word as long as the stone remains on his mouth.

And thou shalt know the properties of stones which I shall mention to thee.

On Vegetables. p. 119

Thou hast known, O Alexander, from the foregoing description, in which I have acquainted thee with the action of nature and the secret of creation, that vegetables follow minerals in existence, and they receive their forms in the same way as do minerals. As the watery element prevails in vegetables and earth in minerals, therefore vegetables receive their forms in the same way as water does when its surface is moved by the wind, but its centre remains unmoved. If thou wert to blow upon a drop of water it shall be elongated and split up and its centre will remain. Then, according to the laws of the drop, from being round it shall become, when stretched, triangular, like the shape of some herbs, or square or pentangular, or any other of the shapes found in vegetables.

And as the prevailing element in vegetables is water, the heavenly force related to it, namely Jupiter, is ever engaged in dissolving water. In short every planet creates that which resembles it. Saturn creates earth, Jupiter water, Mars air, and the Sun fire. And the planets do not produce their bodies, but only their actions which belong to them perpetually by the help of the universal power which is above the powers of these heavenly

bodies. But in order to make it more plain I must explain to thee a little more regarding the properties of these vegetables.
p. 120 For it is in the knowledge of the properties of things that philosophers are distinguished from one another, as it is in the knowledge of the action of their natures that physicians vie with one another.

And I inform thee, O Alexander, that all those vegetables which do not blossom belong to Saturn, and those which do blossom are related to Jupiter.[1] Then these kinds are mixed one with another; hence there are some which bear fruit without blossoming as the date tree, which is related to Saturn and the Sun conjointly. And those that do not bear fruit but blossom, they are related to Jupiter and Mars.

There are others which are planted, others sown, and others grow up without either planting or sowing. Hence it is apparent from what I have said that every vegetable possesses a property matching the power of a planet. And the originals of those properties are the powers that endow them with their specific attributes as colour, taste, smell, and form. And the universal soul arranges in order these properties, powers, and natures, because they are its particulars. And it fixes them and sustains them for the time of their being. Know that there can be no action without movement, and no knowledge without limits.

Therefore (may God lead thee to the right path!), find out the kind of vegetable which causes sickness, and the kind that removes
p. 121 sickness, and the kind that creates joy, and the kind that creates sorrow, and the one that makes one loved, and the one that causes one to be despised and hated,[2] and the one that produces true dreams, and the one that produces merriment, and the one that produces sloth and langour, and the one that destroys the body entirely, and the one that cures it and frees it from hurtful poisons. And I shall explain to thee in detail so that thou mayest understand it more clearly.

The kind of vegetable that causes dignity and honour is a tree which possesses folded leaves of a conical form. Its fruit also resembles a cone, and its branches are green, and its smell is

[1] *C* inserts: And all those that blossom but do not yield fruit are ascribed to Mars, and those that bear fruit belong to the Sun.

[2] *C* inserts: and the kind whose bearer acquires dignity and honour and the other whose bearer acquires contempt and disgrace . . .

fragrant. Whoever plucks it in his own name and holds it in his hand acquires dignity and honour. It is also useful for insect bites.

There is another herb that stands on a long stem, and has long p. 122 and soft leaves with white stripes in them. Upon him who carries its slender stem it works the same effect.

There is another tree whose leaves are dyed. Its branches recline on the earth. And it has sweet fruit and fragrance. Whoever carries it with him becomes merry, bold, and courageous. He defeats every one who fights or strives with him. And it is outwardly in all its forms.

There is another tree which is planted (and not sown) and has long leaves. Its entirety appears before its blossoms. It has one blossom in which[1] are three other long blossoms of red colour and sweet smell. Whoever eats it becomes joyful and laughter-loving. And whoever touches a woman with its blossom, plucked with its root and leaves, she lovingly inclines towards him ; it is acceptable to everybody.

There is another herb whose virtue is contrary to the preceding one. It is a kind of grass called Darufshoon. It grows in the land of China. It has many branches and small leaves. Its branches intersperse in threes. It has a very small round yellow seed which is whitish inside when it is fresh and soft. If thou takest seven grains (or seeds) of it, pronouncing the name of any one, at a time when Taurus is in the ascendant, and Venus and the unlucky signs are absent from it, and givest to that person those seven seeds in some food to eat, love of thee is engendered and strengthened in that person's soul and heart.

There is a herb that removes diseases. It is sown [not planted]. Its branches are square in form and its leaves round. It has blue blossoms and red seeds. Its smell is pleasant. Its property is of the Sun at its height and its nature watery and airy. Its smell cures headache, cold, dizziness, sorrow, fear, epilepsy, and many other diseases.[2]

[1] There is a certain tree which has no root and is propped up. It has a long slender leaf. There appears in it before all other of its blossoms a single blossom called Najunia. And in it are three . . . *C.*

[2] *C* adds : And there is a herb called Fotolidun ; it produces love. So does the root of a kind of vegetable called Taifi. It is a kind of Khomaluki (? Khamalamik, wolfsbane). It is most potent in creating love and friendship.

p. 123 I have completed for thee, O Alexander, all that thou wast desirous of according to thy stipulation, and I have performed my duty towards thee, to the extent of thy claim upon me. So be thou strengthened thereby, and confirmed and happy, if
ends 123 l. 6 God will.

The book is finished with praise to God and by his help and goodly support. The prayers of God be for our Lord Muhammad and his family and Companions. Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds. Amen.

NOTES

INTRODUCTORY TREATISE

3[14]. **glomerelli.** Grammarians. A term (1267), used especially of Grammar boys at school. See Rashdall, *Med. Universities*, ii. 555.

4[24]. **Beata Scolastica.** I take the story from the *Golden Legend*. 'It happed another day that S. Benet went to visit his sister, named Scholastica, and as they sat at table she prayed her brother that he would abide there all that night, but he in no wise would grant her, and said he might not live out of his cloister. And when she saw that he would not grant her to abide, she inclined her head and made her prayers to our Lord, and anon it began to thunder and lighten, and the air to wax dark which tofore was fair and clear, and a great rain fell down so that for nothing he might depart . . .'

6[19]. **titulos authenticos.** A long list of these with incipits is given in the *Speculum Astronomicum* of Albert. It has been suggested that this tract was written by Bacon, but no one with an ear for style could accept the suggestion for a moment. Bacon's other mention of them is in the *De nullitate magiae*, c. 4 (Brewer, p. 532, see p. 526) and in the *Opus Tertium* (p. 48, Little).

6[30]. **ungue pueri virginis carminati.** See a case in *Lincoln Visitations*, vol. ii, where an abbot at Leicester is found doing this in the fifteenth century. The shoulder blade of a ram is used in divination all over the world, but more commonly by the cracks on it when heated.

7[6]. **geomantici.** The usual method was to take three sets of odd or even by chance three times. This gives a figure interpreted by well-known rules.

7[35]. **jam incepta est a quindecim annis.** If we may accept this as referring to Richard of Cornwall, whose teaching was condemned at Paris after having been enunciated at Oxford in 1250 (Rashdall, *Comp. Stud. Theol.*, pp. 52–3), the date of this introduction might be 1265. On the other hand the error may be the Averroist doctrine of the unity of the intellect (*c.* 1256), bringing the date to 1271.

8[24]. **Averoys.** 'Dicit et aliam rationem famosam quod haec fuit causa ut lex apud eos preciperet ut orationes eorum essent tres : aut sacrificia : et dixit : et non invenit legislator hominibus istum numerum, nisi ut sequeret naturam ut ista lex sit quasi sequens naturam. Dixit. Et secundum istum numerum tenemur magnificare creatorem remotum

a modis creaturarum : in orationibus et sacrificiis. nam omnia ista non fiunt nisi ad magnificandum creatorem.' *De celo et mundo*, lib. i, c. 2.

9[5]. **Artephius.** Several tracts are extant under this name, including the *De secretis naturae*, but nothing preserving the legend alluded to here and elsewhere (23[18]; Brewer, 540, 546; *Op. Maj.* ii. 209).

20[10]. **dignitatibus.** The passage in the *Op. Maj.* (i. 261) and *Metaphysics* (p. 49) is much better and more correct. The passage is taken, and modified, from Grosseteste's *De impressionibus aeris* (ed. Baur, p. 43), which contains a good table of the terms or limits and of the *facies* or *decans*. There are three equal *decans* or *facies* in each sign and five unequal terms or limits. Grosseteste gives the term twice the influence of the *decan*, Bacon it will be seen reverses it. The *domus* of a planet is the sign in which it was created: Sol in Leo, Luna in Cancer, Saturn in Capricorn, Jupiter in Sagittarius, Mars in Aries, Venus in Libra, Mercury in Virgo. The house with respect to the earth is found by dividing the vertical circle passing through the zenith and nadir into twelve parts, that beginning at the eastern horizon being the first house. The position of the signs and planets in these houses will of course vary from moment to moment.

24[8]. **in Sciencia Experimentali alibi scripsimus.** See *Op. Maj.* ii. 209. Obviously this part of the *Opus Majus* was written before the Introduction.

24[9]. **vidimus.** Compare this passage with that just referred to, and Brewer, p. 539. But perhaps 'vidimus' is used in a general sense.

NOTES ON THE TEXT

Section b. pp. 36–8.

36[25]. In Sanguinetti's extracts from Ibn Abi Osaibi'ah, this is attributed to Æsculapius. Galen says: 'Le Dieu suprême a révélé à Esculape ce qui suit: Tu es plus digne que je t'appelle un ange qu'un homme' (*Journal Asiatique* (1853), iv. 184). There is a passage in Galen, *Suasoria ad artes oratio*: 'Among these we rank Socrates and Homer and Hippocrates and Plato, and their followers, whom we reverence as equal with the gods, as messengers and servants of the gods', which may be the origin of this statement.

36[30]. 'Hippocrate dit que Dieu a élevé à lui Esculape dans les airs, au milieu d'une colonne de lumière' (loc. cit., p. 184). This is also said by Muwaffik eddin Assad of Hermes (loc. cit., p. 188). It probably arises from the story of Enoch, who appears in the Quran as Idris. 'And mention in the Book Idris; verily he was a confessor, a prophet; and we raised him to a lofty place' (19. 58). But Idris was later identified with Hermes, see p. 99[6]. An early reference is found in Lactantius, *Inst.* i. 6. 1 'Unum proferam quod est simile divino, et ob nimiam vetustatem et quod is (Hermes) quem nominabo ex hominibus in deos relatus est.'

38[3]. Among these epistles is that in Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, xx. 5. Pseudo-Ammonius, *Vita Aristotelis*, f. 5vo (p. 11. 45 Westerm.): 'Alexandro scripsit de Regno librum singularem, quo eum quae regis officia essent docuit.'

Joann. Philoponus (cf. *Vit. Marc.*, p. 5, Robbe): 'Ut autem et omnibus hominibus universaliter benefacerat scripsit Alexandro librum unum de Regno, docens ipsum qualiter oporteat regnare; et in tantum movit animam Alexandri ad faciendum quod dicebat: Quod non benefeci aliquibus hodie non regnavi.'

See Eratosthenes apud Strabonem, i, p. 116 (cf. Bernhardy, *Eratosthenica*, lvi, p. 70): 'Aristoteles jubebat Alexandrum Graecis se tanquam principem barbaris tanquam dominum praebere, et illorum quidem ut amicorum et domesticorum curam gerere, his tanquam brutis aut stirpibus uti' (Plut. *de Alex. Fort. aut Virt.* i, c. 6).

Ammon. *in comm. ad Categorias*, f. 9vo (p. 35, B. 14, Mand.): 'Particularia appellantur scripta Aristotelis quaecunque proprie ad aliquem scripta sunt, ut Epistolae vel quae ab Alexandro Macedone rogatus sive de Regno sive de ducendis coloniis scripsit.'

38[9]. There are some merely verbal alterations in the Achillini text of this letter.

38[16]. The best texts give 'si potes ... mutare' omitting 'non'. The Achillini text differs considerably: 'Si poteris ipsos occidere, est potentia in manu tua in hoc propter regnum; tamen non poteris occidere terram. Sed si potes imitari terrae aerem et aquam atque etiam dispositionem civitatum, implebis tuum propositum. Vis autem dominari super eos cum bonitate, exaudi eos cum benignitate,' &c., &c.

The Hebrew—and Western Arabic—is much longer. Cf. Gaster, p. 3. The Eastern Arabic gives a very short form (p. 177).

The *Universal History of Al-Makin* (x. 1273) (Budge, *Alexander*, ii. 366) quotes the letters as follows: 'Behold, I have mingled with the governors of Persia, who are many, and they are men of understanding, and are perfect, and wise, and penetrating, and men of noble minds, and they are gentle, strong, and serviceable for the work of the kingdom, but behold, I wish to slay them one after the other; do thou, now, give me thy counsel in this matter.' And concerning this thing Aristotle wrote, saying: 'Although thou art able to slay them, slay them not, for thou wilt be able to change neither the spirit (air?) of their country, nor the water of their land; but rule them well, and be submissive unto them, and thou shalt vanquish them by love, and they will be subject unto thee.'

Abu Shaker (Budge, *Alexander*, ii. 303) quotes as follows: 'I find the Persian governors to be men of understanding, and suitable for the work of the kingdom: Shall I slay them? Give me thy advice on this matter.' Then Aristotle wrote unto him, saying: 'If thou killest them, thou wilt not be able to change either the water of their land, or the

wind of their country; therefore rule them graciously, and conquer them with love, and they will be subject unto thee.'

See also Ma'sudi, ii. 134: 'Alexandre, adoptant le conseil que son maître et son ministre Aristote lui avait donné dans une lettre, noua des relations avec chacun de ces chefs, et leur laissa le pouvoir et le revenu de la contrée où ils résidaient.'

Section c. p. 39.

39[9]. This temple has been identified by Dr. Pietschmann as perhaps Baalbek ('Abd-Schems), or more likely Heliopolis in Egypt ('Ain-Schems): 'Endlich sei er zu dem grossen Tempel von Abd-Schems oder Baalbek gekommen, den Hermes der Grosse gebaut habe. Dort habe er einen Derwisch von grosser Einsicht und Weisheit gefunden. Vielleicht ist hier statt عبد شمس besser عين شمس 'Ain Shems zu lesen, Heliopolis in Aegypten, dessen Ruinen ja die Araber wie Maqrizi, Abdallatif und Ibn Ayas bewundern. Allerdings wird auch der Tempel von Baalbek noch im sechsten Jahrhundert erwähnt.' Richard Pietschmann, *Hermes Trismegistos*, pp. 57-8.

39[10]. The Hebrew—and Western Arabic—make Hermes the builder of the temple.

39[21]. Cf. the extract from this in the translation of Joh. Hispalensis, *Egressus sum . . . de graeco in arabicam* (p. xviii), thus agreeing with the Oxford text. The Hebrew has 'from Greek into Rumi, and from Rumi into Arabic.'

Section f. Discourse I, pp. 42-47.

43[20]. The Vulgate insertion is here warranted by the Arabic. Philip seems to have made two alternative translations.

Dicta seu castigationes Sedechie. 'Et dixit quam bonum est hiis benefacere qui merentur et quam utile, et quam malum est non merentibus et inutile, quia qui hoc facit perdit laborem suum. Nam qui benefacit non merentibus est ut pluvia in arenam, quia perditur.' *Placita Philosophorum Moralium Antiquorum ex Graeco in Latinum translata a Magistro Joanne de Procida Magno cive Salernitano.* Renzi, *Schola Salernitanum*, iii. 71.

44[19]. **regni Caldeorum.** *Arabic* Hanayaj, Hayahij; *Hebrew* Nigig.

44[31]. **Cavendum . . . vitanda.** Insertion by Philip.

45[14]. **vel dedissem.** Words in brackets are obviously alternative readings in the Latin text. The brackets are inserted by the present editor.

45[20]. **speculator.** The common text reads 'speculum', correctly.

Section g. Discourse II, p. 47.

49[16]. 'Dans l'Inde un roi ne peut monter sur le trône avant quarante ans révolus; il ne se montre au peuple qu'à des époques déterminées,

et seulement pour examiner les affaires de l'État ; car dans leurs idées, un roi porterait atteinte à sa dignité et n'inspirerait plus le même respect s'il se montrait constamment au peuple.' Ma'sudi, *Prairies d'or*, i. 167.

49[28]. **conabitur** : *concionabitur*. Vulgate.

50[24]. **Unicuique ergo reddendum est quod suum est** : a reminiscence of the Civil law, added by Philip.

52[7]. The Vulgate inserts here 'vesti hodie unum et cras alium', which has probably dropped out of Bacon's text.

52[26]. This quotation is not from any known Hermetic work.

55[31]. Another Hermetic quotation otherwise unknown : cf. the Arabic text.

56[4]. **Mihi vindictam et ego retribuam.** Rom. xii. 19.

56[30]. Perhaps a reference to Isa. xxxiv. 8.

57[1–6]. An insertion of Philip.

57[9]. This is not in any known Hermetic work.

57[20]. **Ambasoyorum et Scitarum.** *Arabic* Inakh, Safoor, and Hananij ; *Hebrew* Atag, and Skir, and Ihas, and Imim.

58[16–21]. Philip adds this praise of liberality to scholars.

59[5–7]. Not in Vulgate.

Section h. pp. 60–2. *de regimine vite per astronomiam.*

60[29]. Bacon returns to the subject of this word in his Greek Grammar, p. 71[12].

61[7]. Cf. *Opus Majus*, i. 390.

60[27]–61[2]. **Plato.** The Vulgate reading is Bacon's alternative—'et per hoc habuit scienciam de ideis et rebus formatis'. The Arabic is quite unintelligible in this connexion, whether it refers to the art of 'painting on silk' (Eastern text), or of weaving, 'the fringed garment known as the dibaj' (Western text).

61[5–11]. An addition of Philip : as also lines 14–17 and line 34.

62[5–17]. Only in Eastern text.

62[13]. 'entibus' is better. The meaning of the original has not been caught by the translator ; it is that the second part is to know how the motion of the heavens, &c., affect things before they come to pass.

62[15]. The Vulgate and Arabic texts give 1029, which includes the seven planets. See *Op. Maj.* i. 235 ; *Com. Nat.*, p. 395.

Section i. pp. 64–68.

65[6]. 'Prima statui potest ea quae ex primordiis conficitur iis quae nonnulli elementa appellant, terram dico, aerem, aquam, ignem : sed melius fortasse dici potest, ex virtutibus confici elementorum, iisque non omnibus : humiditas enim et siccitas, et caliditas et frigiditas, materia corporum sunt compositorum.' Aristotle, *de part. anim.* ii. 1.

65[8]. 'Nam cum quatuor illa sint ex quibus compactum est corpus,—Terra, Ignis, Aqua, Aer,—horum contra natura abundantia defectusque, et ex loco proprio in alienum translatio, per quam quod sibi conveniens est non tenent, intestinam quandam seditionem et morbos inferunt.' Plato, *in Timaeo.*

66[4]. Told of Socrates in Diogenes Laertius, ii. The Arabic text gives Socrates.

Section k. pp. 68–76.

73[4]. **ascende**: *incede* is preferable.

75[13]. **que legem non habet**: an aside of Philip's.

75[22]. **cognoscas**: *cognosces* is preferable.

Seasons. pp. 76–81.

77[3]. 'Aiunt nonnulli veris complexionis calidam esse et humidam . . . Ex his ergo que dicta sunt vere patet nequaquam calidum esse et humidum lino temperatum.' Haly, *liber totius medicinae,* v. 3.

'Ver calidum et humidum est: ideo sanguinis in corpore incrementum fit.' Hippocrates, *de hominis structura.*

78[3]. 'Aeris vero estate complexio calida est et sicca.' Haly.

'Aestas calida et sicca ideo flavam auget bilem.' Hippocrates.

79[10]. 'Autumnus autem frigidus est et siccus . . .' Haly.

'Autumnus siccus et frigidus, ideo atram bilem et saniem auget. sanies quidem sanguinea et aquosa est.' Hippocrates.

80[7]. **asymon** = *al-aftimum* Ar., **angariacio** = *al-garikun.*

80[24]. 'At vero hyems frigida est et humida . . .' Haly.

'Hyems vero pituitam in corpore adauget.' Hippocrates.

Section l. pp. 81–83.

81[25]. Philip has here misread his MS. of Hispalensis and substituted senectute' for 'siccitate', forcing him to recast the sentence. Compare with p. 89[7].

Section m. pp. 83–87.

83[23]. 'Diducimus utique hominis corpusculum in partes quatuor, caput, thoracem ventrem atque vesicam.' Diocles.

83[25]. **signa.** 'Vertigo, dolor capitis, superciliorum gravedo, murmur aurium, stimulatio temporum, oculi matutino tempore lachrymant et caligant, odoratus hebetatur, dentium gingivae atolluntur.' Diocles.

83[28]. 'caput confestim evacuandum ducito.' Diocles.

84[1]. **esdentim** is *afsantin* Ar. (wormwood).

84[1]. 'Verum sumptis hyssopi aut orygani capitibus tritis, et in aulula ebullitis cum passo, vel defruti hemina dimidiata, quibus os jejunus abluito, atque quod pituita deducitur, gargarizato.' Diocles.

84[4]. '. . . Sinapi aqua mulsa calida maceratum in jejunio sorbere et gargarizando a capite humorem deducere.' Diocles.

84[6]. **xii unguentis.** See the Arabic text (p. 203).

84[8]. 'Ophthalmiae, glaucomata, aurium fissurae, strumae in cervice,

cerebri tabes, gravedo, angina nocturna, teredines, vua, profluvium capillorum, ulceratio capitis, dentium cruciatus.' Diocles.

84^{14}. 'Lingua crassescit, ejiciunt per sputa, vel salsa vel amara vel biliosa, in lateribus ac scapulis dolores citra occasionem oriuntur, oscedines crebrae, vigiliae, suffocationes, sitis ex somno, animus tristior, algores pectoris, brachiorum et manuum tremor, infestant.' Diocles.

84^{17}. 'Prosunt etiam jejuni vomitus.' Diocles.

84^{18-20}. Not from Diocles.

84^{20}. **amissosus** is *anisoun*, Ar.

84^{21}. **transeugam** is *galengale*.

84^{22}. 'Pleuritim, pulmoniariam, melancholiam, febres acutas, phrenitim veternum, et cum singultu ardorem (metuat).' Diocles.

84^{25}. 'Aristoteles instruens Alexandrum Regem inquit, frequentationes pectinis super caput visum impedientes evertunt ad cutem, ne visui obsint. Item inquit, aspectus rerum viridium in loco multae temperiei visum corroborat. Item dixit, aspicere speculum tersum directum et diu intueri super ipsum visum corroborat, et oculi defatigationem removet. Item injunxit, post oculi defatigationem ingredi domum obscuram non multae tenebrositatis, et intueri fenestras in quibus sit aliquod parum viride, vel intueri aquam viridem, et submergere oculos in ipsa. Item dixit, exercitatio legendi literas mediocres visum corroborat, et oculorum sanitatem custodit.' Mesue, *de egritudine oculorum*.

Razis, *ad Almansorem*, tr. iv, c. 22, has the following: 'Qui oculorum volunt sanitatem custodire a sole estivo et pulvere atque fumo sibi cavere debent. Ne etiam colores albos vel radiosa semper inspiciant valde observare debent: ac ne unam rem sicut pavefactus semper intueatur cavere debent. Litteras quoque, vel subtiles sculturas nequaquam aspiciant. A multo preterea fletu et a longo dormitione post comestionem omnino est abstinendum, neque diu est morandum in loco ubi frigidus perflat ventus. A cibis etiam valde siccis, sicut sunt lentes et res salse: atque frequenti coitu omnino cavere debent. . . . Est preterea de eorum numero que oculos acuunt, aquam intrare claram, atque per magnum spacium oculos in ea apertos tenere: hoc enim eos claros facit et rigidos. Multotiens quoque corroborantur oculi: cum aliquis librum incipit aspicere cujus litere non sunt subtiles, et intendere ceperit quid in eo sit vel quid sit in picturis. Quod autem conservat sanitatem et absterget: tuthia est cum succo sansuci confecta. Sunt autem de his que oculos abstergunt, ut recentis feniculi succus in oculis ponatur, vel collirium de malis granatis.'

86^{19-22} are taken from Razis, op. cit., tr. ii, c. 28: 'Cujus oculi sunt magni piger est. Cujus quoque oculi in profundo sunt positi, callidus est et deceptor. Cujus oculi foris prominent, inverecundus est, et loquax et stolidus.'

87[4]. 'Post exiguum etiam cibum plenitas infestare videtur, inflationes, eructuationes, universi corporis pallor, somni graves, lotia lurida, et aegerrime emanantia, et circa pudenda tumores.' D.

87[5]. **ache** is O. F. for parsley. **anamag** is neither Arabic nor Persian. The meaning is 'fennel', and it is probably a corruption of some European word.

87[5]. 'Sunt vero foeniculi apiique radices in vino albo odorato macerandae, unde jejunus in matutino quotidie duos cyathos, cum aqua dauci, smyrnii, enulae campanae, quodcunque horum ad manum sit, juxta enim singula juvant: cicerum quoque maceratorum aquam, si cum vino potaverit, idem consequetur.' Diocles.

87[9]. 'Hydropem, lienis magnitudinem, hepatis dolorem, calculum, renum affectionem, lotii stillicidium, distentionem ventris.' Diocles.

Section n. pp. 87–98. *de conservantibus sanitatem.*

87[30]. Evidently a lacuna before *utitur*—i. e. *assafoetida.*

88[1]. 'Medicamen ex nucibus et ficubus quod omnes venenosorum animalium modos nocere prohibat. ℞. nucum a duabus corticibus excorticatarum partem unam, salis grandinosi, foliorum ruthe, amborum ana, sextam unius partis ficuum albarum, quantum ad predictorum sufficit commixtionem. Ex quibus, cum mixta fuerint, nucis fiat similitudo et comedatur. Quibus uti incipiat quecunque ne veneno perimatur timet, et sumat ex ea etiam ante cibum suum: hic namque est medicamen quod venena expellit.' Razis, *ad Almansorem*, tr viii, c. 1.

Section o. pp. 89–94. *de cibis.*

93[14]. Avicenna (vol. ii, p. 363 ed. cit.) has a tract upon the subject, *de sirupo acetoso*, founded on Galen.

93[19]. The Arabic text has Homer for the author of this sentiment. Aristo is not mentioned.

93[26]. Razis, tr. v, c. 7, recommends the following course: 'Oportet crapulatum diu dormire ac postquam evigilaverit balneum ingredi, ubi in loco sedeat temperato. Et postquam super ipsius caput aque tepide multitudo fusa fuerit, exeat . . .' See also Haly, ii. 56, 63, 64, 65.

94[1]. **saldel** is sandal wood.

94[4]. Arabic medicine lays great stress on habit, but I have not found this particular recommendation.

Section p. pp. 94–6.

This section may be compared with Razis, *ad Almansorem*, tr. v, cc. 60 and 61, which correspond generally but are not its source.

94[25]. **mellis humidi . . . in caule geldel.** This unmeaning phrase must be due to a fault in the Arabic text before Philip. A possible emendation is 'in cavis gelidis'. It may be 'de celo cadens ad modum roris': see liber Saladin, f. 351 b. 2.

Section q. pp. 96, 97. *de balneo.*

This section seems to be the first account of the Hammam known.

Avicenna (i. 2. 2–19) speaks of three chambers to the bath, the first cooling and moistening, the second warming and moistening, the third warming and drying—an arrangement more like the Roman system; his teaching being founded on Galen and Hippocrates.

97[1]. Philip seems to have misunderstood his text. The hairdressing and anointing comes in the regular course of the bath; see p. 209.

97[3]. **unguento scesarino confecto de sandel et emleg.** In some of the Arabic texts the title 'Caesarian' is applied to this soap. Other Arabic texts give 'short ointment.' Note that the Arabic word *amlaj* (myrobalan) is transliterated *emleg*.

97[5] **bletes** is an O. F. word.

The prescriptions that follow have suffered greatly both in the Latin texts and in the Arabic, especially as to the quantities, but they may be emended fairly satisfactorily. The weights and measures used are commonly, *rotula—ratl*—a pound, *dirhem*—drachm, and *ankia* (40 *dirhems*)—ounce.

The receipt for the medium contains only one mistake; the proportion of grape juice is one-tenth of what it should be. Some formulas substitute the juice of sour apples for those of sweet.

In the first medicine Philip comes to grief over parsley water or *ocymum* (*eleorangam*), and myrobalan (*el egaman—amlaj*, p. 100[2]), and he omits some words in line 9, which should read '1½ dr. of musk and 1 dr. of ambergris'.

In the second medicine (p. 100[15]) 'et galanga cubebis' is an intrusion, unless 'cubebis' is a shot at 'Kabuli' or black myrobalan. The 'caroble de Babilonia' is cassia and 'virotis' is myrtle. 'Rabarir' is not rhubarb, as Bacon explains it, but *tabashir* (bamboo manna), a silica deposit in the joints of the bamboo, used as a tonic and aphrodisiac.

In the third medicine Philip gets his quantities right but does not translate the names: 'emleg' is *amlaj* or myrobalans, and 'elileg' is *halileg*, Ar. emblic myrobalan. 'Darsan cariole' is cinnamon (*darsin*), and 'nuce muscata' nutmeg.

The text of the fourth medicine is very corrupt. There is no Arabic for 'palmitum et', which should be omitted, or for 'aqua salsa colata bene' or 'cayrsen'. 'Effeti' is *afsantin* (wormwood or absinthe). This receipt varies very greatly from that of the ordinary texts, and comes nearer to that in *Or.* 6421 (D). 'Fresh Ansaj juice 2 r., moist Dodder juice 2 r., 'Sares' or 'Bares' juice 2 r., parsley juice ½ r., endive juice 1 r. Fresh leek juice 1 r., Fennel juice 1 r., Wormwood ¼ r., Fresh Hyssop ¼ r., and Sebestens ¼ r.'

In the fifth medicine 'escines' is French lavender (*stoechas*), 'berforches' barberries: 'deferat viridi' and 'trifera viridis' seem to be doublets of an Arabic word which may mean camomile or orris root. 'Cimini' is *anisum* (aniseed).

In the sixth medicine the text is again hopelessly corrupt. The

'colatura seminum contrariorum' should be ½ r. each of juice of fleawort and quince seeds or cotton seeds—'bazr qutūnā', Ar., and the 'uncia de granis pini' 3 oz. of gum tragacanth.

In the seventh medicine the quantities are wrong. 'Aretim' is *darsin*, a kind of cinnamon, 'amomo' is cinnamon, *kurfa*, and 'corawed' is *raond*, *al-rawand*, rhubarb.

In the eighth medicine 'clavini' is a corruption perhaps of *darwani*, doronicum: and 1½ dr. each of three kinds of sandal-wood and of lak are omitted.

In the ninth medicine the 'dactili Indici recentes mundati a granis suis' are tamarinds. In line 25, 1 oz. of oil of balsam is omitted. The variant 'de luto smaragdi' in 104^{1} is the right reading.

Section s. p. 105. *de viperis.*

105^{9}–106^{10} is only found in Bacon's text and those founded upon it.

106^{12}–107^{22}. Avicenna, v, sum. 1, tract 1 (p. 257, vol. ii, ed. Ven. 1564), with a number of insignificant verbal alterations, close enough to show that the extracts were made from a Latin translation and not the Arabic text.

107^{23-30}. Avicenna, Canon II, tr. 2, cap. 616 (vol. i, p. 375); the ordinary texts finish here.

107^{30-34}. These lines are also extracted from the same chapter of Avicenna, with the exception of the words 'et multa alia . . . enarrare'.

Section t. pp. 108–10. *de regimine medicine per astronomiam.*

109^{5}. **in secundo medietate.** This should be amended to 'in secunda mansione vel octava'.

Section N. pp. 157–63. *de incantamentis.*

157^{15}. 'corrumptibili' should probably be 'corporali'. Lines 19–21 are additions. Line 27: the Vulgate text is 'recipiunt infans et mulier pregnans' where 'infans' is an emendation, to agree with 'mulier pregnans', but the original shows that the translator must have mistaken the Arabic for 'mirror' for 'woman' and neglected the word 'polished'. The passage should be 'recipit visus et speculum politum'.

158^{10} sqq. The reading of these lines is due to Dr. Henry Bradley—the text being read usually as 'a que ymiam sene', Queynuan being Keiwan, Saturn. It is, for instance, only from this section that we learn that Homo is a term for Saturn. 'Que ymiam sene et a patre sene' is improved in some texts to 'imbriam' and so on, only to get further from the real meaning, which is 'by Saturn who is the elder and father of all other planets'. 'Qui est magnus apparens in libertate' applies to Jupiter evidently, but defies explanation: 'ad puteum flavum' applies to the moon, but similarly can neither be amended or explained.

159^{10}. 'humilitatem' should probably be 'habilitatem', as Vulgate.

160^{17}. 'nodum' is probably right; l. 18, 'circumstancium' should be

'errantium' as Vulgate text: l. 25, the original has here a reference to the astrolabe; l. 29, 'insinuacionem' should probably be 'insidiacionem'.

161[1–4]. **et quid . . . lapidearum**, not in Vulgate text.

161[15]. **committitur** . . . The passage is corrupt and is not in the Arabic. The sense is that every compound grows under the influence of one or more planets.

162[10]. **'operacio Hermogenis'** is not in the Arabic text. The recipe in lines 27 sqq. is slightly involved; 'victoriam ejus qui dominatur in eis' is 'the essence of the chief among them'. For 'racio' read 'Homo', which means Saturn, as also in line 33.

163[1]. The alternative 'Tauro' is the correct reading. l. 7, 'Hominem' is Saturn. l. 11, 'planetarum edificancium' needs emendation—it means the fixed stars. After line 20 the translation differs from any described Arabic text

165[6]. For classical analogues see Foerster, Scriptores physiognomici I. viii. where the story is told of Zopirus and Socrates.

165[36]. Mistake for 'libro 3 auctorum'—printed by Foerster, ii. 1.

167[28]. **et sapiencie innuit paucitatem.** Only found in this text: extracted from Razis, ii. 26: 'in ventre quoque et pectore pilorum multitudo reperta sapientie innuit paucitatem'.

168[8]. 'Cujus oculi cito mobiles sunt et acute cernentes, deceptor est et calidus, atque latro.' Razis, ii. 28.

168[11]. 'Preterea homines cum hoc habentes in oculis maculas rubeas ut sanguis, aut albas, omnibus hominibus sunt deteriores et magis deceptores.'

168[27]. **Et similiter . . . est.** Not in other texts. From Razis, ii. 30: 'Cujus narium foramen valde sunt aperta irascibilis est.'

169[3]. 'Cujus frons plana est, rugas non habens, litigiosus est et commovens rixas.' Razis, ii. 31.

169[8]. 'Qui magnum habet os, gulosus est et audax.' Razis, ii. 32.

169[9]. 'Cujus magna sunt labia, stultus intelligitur et habes.' Razis, ii. 32.

169[16]. 'Qui timpora inflata et venas arteriatas grossas, irascibilis est.' Razis, ii. 32.

170[2]. 'Bonitas vocis stultitiam et paucam demonstrat sapientiam.' Razis, ii. 35.

170[4]. Quoted by Albertus Magnus, *de Animalibus*, i. 2. 26 *in fine*.

170[21]. 'Equalitas dorsi bonum est signum.' Razis, ii. 41.

170[25]. Cf. Razis ii. 43.

172[1]. Cf. Razis, ii. 50.

SUMMARY OF INTRODUCTORY TREATISE

(p. 1) This short and useful tract explains some obscure sayings in the *Secretum Secretorum* which Aristotle wrote in his old age for Alexander the Great; it was made by brother Roger Bacon, of the order of Minors, of his charity for the instruction of certain wise men. A wise man who studies and discusses it thoroughly, together with the notes which brother Roger has in many places added to the text, will discover the deepest secrets of nature to which man or human invention can attain, and thus be called in truth first of the world. Nor need any one despair, since if he knows the natures of things, perspective, and astronomy, those secrets cannot remain hidden from him. (Follow chapter headings.) (p. 2) It is to be thought that the translator of this book (called the Secret of Secrets of Aristotle or the book of the Governance of Princes, Kings, and Lords) might have rendered many words more accurately such as *Mancia* and *Geomancia* and *Celimancia* and *Incantacio* and *Carmen*, which are neither good translations nor consonant with religion. The fault is due to the ignorance of translators. 'Mancia' means divination, as practised by magicians and mathematicians (using the word as if derived from 'matesis'—magic which negatives free will). True mathematicians (from 'mathesi', teaching) judge differently. (p. 3) Mathematics includes four sciences, Geometry, Arithmetic, Music, and Astrology, which contains Astrology, judiciary and operative Astronomy. Cassiodorus is quoted. He then quotes Evrardus with a reprimand for his ignorance of Greek quantities, and finishes the chapter by explaining the belief of false mathematicians in the power of the stars over free will.

Chapter 2, of true mathematicians, explains their position. They do not presume necessity in anything open to the will, and do not attempt to foretell all events, nor any with certainty, (p. 4) as this child will be a good man or a bishop, if God wills. They forsee possibilities, knowing sufficient causes, but always assuming free will. Their art consists in knowing the position of the planets in the signs of the zodiac, and their relation to each other and the fixed stars, and so they can judge of the influence they may have on mundane things. But God may alter the event, and even the merits of a good Christian; a poor old woman by her prayers and merits may alter the course of nature, as blessed Scolastica when St. Benedict was about to depart from her

prayed for a storm to delay him. And this alteration in the course of nature may take place in animate bodies. The human body is changing every hour with the action of the various constellations and disposed to various actions though not forced. Often the natural disposition requires no forcing, (p. 5) but people do what their nature inclines them to do. Just as a man does things in the company of his friends which he would otherwise not have thought of doing, so the constellations may strengthen his disposition, though they do not force him to do anything. According to Avicenna, thought and working of the soul produce various effects in the body like heat or cold. Kings and other rulers should take note of this action on the soul by the habit of the body as affected by the stars. If a true mathematician knew the exact birth-date of any prince he could judge of his nature and qualities. For all men follow their complexions. And if a king is of a choleric complexion he will be naturally inclined to pride and anger, and war, &c. And his councillors and kingdom will follow in his path, and neighbouring kingdoms will also be disturbed. If he is of sanguine complexion he will be humble and prudent and peaceful, &c. And so on for the other complexions. And all who rule are swayed by their complexions unless God ordains otherwise. But if they have good advice from learned physicians skilled in astronomy, their evil complexions can be changed for better, and they be inclined to all good.

(p. 6) Chapter 3 is of the sayings and doings of false mathematicians and demons. True and false mathematicians alike can do much good, but the false think their results come of necessity. They also fall into other errors, desiring the help of demons, making charms (*carmina*), talismans (*karacteres*), and sacrifices, such as are described in their wicked books or revealed to them by demons. Such books are the Book of Adam, the Book of Moses, the Books of Solomon, the Books of Aristotle, and of Hermes, which are not by them but by evil men, and by them many are seduced. I have known very great people, even educated princes, to study them. And demons appear to these mathematicians in human form and otherwise, and say and do wonderful things. Sometimes they appear in reflections, as on the polished nails of virgin boys, and in basins and swords, and in the blade bone of a ram, and other polished things, and show them all they ask. And boys looking on these polished things see stolen goods, and to where they have been taken, and by whom, and so on. But the frenzy of these false mathematicians goes further, without the demons' appearance, but to pure magic, (p. 7) and they do many things useful to some and harmful to others, by the invisible aid of demons, God permitting. Thus the geomancers make signs and figures in sand, and believe they know all secrets, past, present, and future, and overseas they sit in public places and are openly consulted, they pretending that they work by consulting stars, so that many famous students

have been misled. And other magic arts in which the devils delude them are hydromancy, aeromancy, and pyromancy. And people are so misled, either because of their own infidelity, or that of the magicians, or for other sins, as may be seen by many things that happen in these times, as when people are bewitched, &c. And from these talismans and charms and figures and magical doings come the errors of old women, witches, &c. For the first were taught by magicians, and parents teach their children, and the evil grows and will grow till Antichrist comes. And many false teachers will precede Antichrist, and teaching like the errors in philosophy begun fifteen years ago, or the heretical doctrine taught, prepare people for Antichrist, who taught by demons will fulfil (p. 8) all their evil desires, and prevent all good and true.

Chapter 4, of the sayings and doings of true mathematicians. These hold themselves aloof from all evil and know how to select times in which the stars can assist nature, by God's disposition, to do great things by nature and art, not using magic or old wives' charms, but the grace given to philosophers. How far this grace extended we cannot say, but would to God all Christians had as much. Philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, and Avicenna were not idolaters, but worshipped God like the Fathers from Adam to Moses. Aristotle had the cult of the Trinity. Christian astronomers should pray to God and the saints, and use figures of the cross, crucifix, Blessed Virgin, and St. Denys (who was a great astronomer), and other special saints, and observe due seasons. Thus a physician should expose his medicines to the sky when favourable stars are above the horizon, and guard them from unfavourable ones. The same should be done with food and drink. (p. 9) Sick and insane persons should be exposed to favourable constellations. By this way the mental and moral status can be improved, as Artephius did. This course ought to be followed out with kings and princes and prelates, not only for their own good, but for that of their subjects. And many other things might be done for public utility in this way which Aristotle describes in this book, but secretly.

Chapter 5, of the true sciences with like names to the four false ones. Geomancy is magic, like some kinds of aeromancy, and hydromancy, and pyromancy. Other sciences of the same name are parts of experimental science. According to Ptolemy, the science of prognostication is duplex, one by Astronomy which gives a judgement midway between necessity and impossibility. Another, which considers future alterations, Ptolemy calls Experimental Science, (p. 10) which was much enlarged by Aratus. This science observes signs in the earth, the air, and fire, i. e. the sphere of fire by which philosophers foretell all future changes. The poets speak of this—Virgil, Servius his commentator, Lucan, and others. Avicenna tells how a hedgehog showed

a change of weather; dolphins, rustling of the trees, and swelling of waters also foretell it. Meteors and other appearances in the air, the rainbow and haloes show changes in the air. Comets also have a great significance, like that of 1264, which caused much disturbance in that and the following years, and frightened all men. These comets follow the motion of some planet or fixed star, (p. 11) like iron the magnet, and they are generated in the sphere of fire, as Algazel teaches. There are many signs of greater significance than these, such as the sight of two or three suns or two or three moons at once. We can read of such in Livy, or Orosius, or Augustine, and of the changes which followed. Also there have been showers of milk and blood and many other things, and springs of oil or blood have risen out of the earth, which have preceded great changes. Eclipses also are to be considered in this connexion. Astronomers consider the position of the sun and moon in the signs, but experimental science considers the way in which the benefit of light is cut off from the world. There is a very great change, especially in a total eclipse, the effect of which is described. One will come sooner than astronomers predict. These effects are called by Ptolemy 'secondaries of the stars', and he says that a more accurate judgement can be formed by them than by the stars themselves. Aristotle and others, he said, depended more on it than on astronomy. (p. 12) Considering then the etymology of these words geomancy, &c. It is obvious that sound sciences, considering only natural objects, can be found of geomancy, aeromancy, hydromancy, and pyromancy. It was these sciences that Aristotle wrote of, not the magical ones, but the translator had no other terms to use in Latin.

Chapter 6 gives some instruction in astronomy which is necessary for the understanding of the last chapter of the second part and the last two of the third part. The universe is spherical as regards its convexity, except the earth. The earth is naturally spherical, because it lies in the centre of the universe, and in the concavity of the sphere of water naturally, as it was in the beginning and will be in the end. The waters were withdrawn to make it habitable so that, (p. 13) according to Esdras, six parts of the earth are land and one water, agreeing with Aristotle. The succeeding spheres are air, fire, the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Fixed Stars, Watery or ninth heaven, Empyreum or tenth heaven. (p. 14) There are ten heavens, and four spheres of elements: seven heavens of the planets, the eighth of fixed stars, because they are always at the same distance from each other. Each elemental sphere revolves less than that above it, the earth not at all, water little, air more, fire, moved by the sphere of the Moon, most. To understand the motion of the heavens we have to imagine a number of circles. The first are the equinoctials. These circles are in the eighth and ninth heaven. Another in the eighth and ninth heaven, north and south, is called 'zodiac' from the figures

of the stars in it. The names of these are Aries, Taurus, Gemini, &c., (p. 15) twelve in number. Each sign has 30 degrees, 360 in the whole, each degree is divided into 60 minutes, each of these into 60 seconds, each again into 60 thirds, and as much further as necessary. The zodiac in the eighth heaven is called movable, that in the ninth immovable, like the corresponding equinoctial, because the aqueous heaven does not move. The sun moves in the zodiac in another circle called the ecliptic, and never moves out of it, though other planets do. The eighth heaven moves under the zodiac of the ninth heaven, but only one degree every 100 years, so that its whole movement will take 36,000 years, that is it will never be completed because the universe will not last so long. The heaven of Saturn revolves once every thirty years, Jupiter in twelve years, Mars in two, the Sun in one, Venus and Mercury nearly the same, the Moon in twenty-seven days eight hours. Their movement round the earth is combined with this, thus the sun moves nearly a degree every day in its circuit. Suppose it begins the day with the sun at a certain point in the immovable zodiac, it is carried round the earth with it up to the next sunshine, but it is not in the upper part of the sign but the lower, because it moves not in a circle but on a sphere and does not finish where it began. Thus if the sun and the point in the zodiac coincide with the corresponding point in the eighth heaven, the eighth heaven revolves round the earth quicker than the ninth, and so next day the sun will be one degree further in the movable zodiac. The sun moves by its motion to the east round the earth, and not by the motion of the eighth sphere as the unskilful believe.

(p. 17) Chapter 7 treats of the properties of planets and signs and of the six ways in which all things animate and inanimate are influenced by them. The Moon is cold and moist, Mercury is indifferent, acting in conjunction with other planets. Venus is warm and moist, yet rather moist than warm. The Sun is warm and temperate, but its heat is not destructive. Mars is over-warm and dry, and so harmful unless other signs intervene to moderate its effects. Jupiter is warm and moist, and the best after the Sun. Thus when it is in conjunction with the Moon in the same sign it prevents laxative medicine taking effect. Saturn is very bad and venomous, because it is cold and dry and the cause of death. Yet it is sometimes useful, like scammony which is a poisonous but useful drug. For some constellations are so favourable that if they were not restrained by Saturn or Mars the world would perish of too much good. The fixed stars are of the nature of one or other of the planets. (p. 18) The qualities of the planets are modified by their aspect to one another, by conjunction, i. e. when they are in the same sign, by opposition, when they are half the sky distant, sextile aspect when they are two signs distant, quarter aspect when three signs, and trine aspect when four signs. (p. 19) Their effects are also modified by

their approach to or recess from the earth. Their effects are also increased or diminished in three ways according to their position in the signs, that is under the signs in the eighth heaven, which is at an infinite distance from them all except perhaps Saturn. Three signs are fire, three earthly, three airy, and three watery ; fire is warm and dry, earth cold and dry, air warm and moist, water cold and moist. Take any sign, the fifth and ninth from it will be of the same complexion. When a warm planet is in a warm sign its heat is increased, in a cold one diminished. No sign has warmth or cold, dryness or moisture, in its substance, but it has the power of exciting these qualities in other things. (p. 20) Thus wine, which is cold and moist in substance, warms and dries. Planets in signs have five prerogatives : House, Exaltation, Triplicity, Face, and Term. These are connected with each other; the House has five times the importance of the term, Exaltation four, and so on. Each planet has two houses except the Sun and Moon. Saturn has Capricorn and Aquarius, and so on. Exaltation, &c., are not touched on in the book. Some signs are masculine, others feminine. (p. 21) The Sun, Mars, and Jupiter are masculine, the Moon, Venus, and Saturn feminine, Mercury is indifferent. The signs alternate, Aries masculine, Taurus feminine, and so on. The House is sometimes considered as a division of the heavens into twelve parts, from the E. horizon to the nadir (angle of the earth) three houses, (p. 22) from these to the W. horizon three, from these to the zenith three, and from these to the E. horizon three. The first house is called the ascendant. In the figure there are instructions for drawing up the birth diagram, and a note gives the position in which planets are most powerful. (p. 23) The reader is referred to Albumazar for a detailed study. Bacon then adds a note on his famous medicine 'Inestimable Glory'. Mindful of the corruption of his texts he refers readers to Pliny, Artephius, and to the *De Accidentibus Senectutis*. Further, they must observe the thirteen conditions laid down in the *Antidotary*. The virtue of the medicine lies in due preparation, careful choice of substances, good proportions, and proper mixing and irradiation from the stars. (p. 24) Students have endeavoured to reduce all the elements in food to equality so as to prolong life, and laid down the principles to be followed. But because of the great labour and expense involved very few have gone far into the study. Some however have succeeded, as we have written in our *Experimental Science*, and we have seen one in our own times, who still lives, it is believed, in Germany, and has papal letters to prove his age. Unguents and potions may have a similar effect.

ADDENDA

THE ETHICS OF ARISTOTLE

Translated from the Arabic (B.M. Add. 7453, f. 75^v)

The following are the 'Ethics of Aristotle' which he had written down in a book, and used to teach to Alexander :—Every human being has certain needs, and for obtaining every need or object there is a certain way. Whoever strikes upon this way gains his object, and whoever misses the way fails to obtain it. Man needs the good (or happiness) of this world. And the means of obtaining it is reason, and reason is of two kinds : natural and acquired. And learning (or acquired reason) depends upon the soundness of the rational faculty (or natural reason) which in its turn helps to form acquired judgement. And judgement, or the power of thinking rightly, coupled with the acquired action or the power of acting rightly, conduces to the clearness of perception. And the only thing that restricts and disables reason is passion or desire. And passion is of two kinds : instinctive, or that which is caused by the hidden and latent faculties, and actual, or that which results from apparent powers. The former resembles a latent or smouldering fire, and the latter an open or flaming fire. And just as fire is inflamed by the wind, so passion is inflamed by desire ; and as fire is put down by stopping the air from reaching it, so passion is overpowered by controlling desires. And desires can be controlled by means of sound and effective reason. And the soundness of reason is known by its power of distinguishing truths (or facts) from falsehoods, and its effectiveness or strength is judged from its power of controlling the desires and passions. Hence, as reason grows stronger, passions grow weaker, and man progresses towards perfection, by which is meant the power of thinking and acting rightly. And natural wisdom, or the power of knowing the right, is not perfect without actual wisdom, or the power of acting rightly. And when natural judgement preponderates over natural passions, the latter have little power to influence man's actions, except in case of his appetites, and these are regulated by acquired reason (or judgement) and acquired actions (or the right way of conducting oneself learnt afterwards).

And I have translated in this book some chapters on the advantages of reasoning correctly, a faculty which helps a man throughout the

course of his life. And God alone helps us to do things rightly, and no one has power and strength except Him.

When reason is perfected it assimilates and adds to itself good morals and manners, as a healthy body assimilates and incorporates with itself the food it takes. And morals in their turn nourish and develop reason as food does the body. But when reason is imperfect it rejects good morals and good manners, as a diseased body rejects and fails to assimilate the food it takes, however healthy and nourishing it may be. And if a person of vitiated mind acquires knowledge and is taught good morals, the knowledge turns into sophistry and ignorance, and good morals or virtues into bad morals and vices, even as the nourishing and healthy food taken by a person of diseased body turns into poison.

Hence I admire the wise man whose sound reason proceeds from his sound mind, his sound judgement from his sound knowledge, his knowledge from his logical mode of thought, whose argument is tempered with politeness and pertinence, whose good actions proceed from his good principles, whose good conduct is the result of his good intentions, whose liberality is the outcome of his generosity of disposition, whose charity of true self-denial, and whose efforts are guided by moderation.

Again, that man is worthy of admiration who has acquired the soundness of mind by means of his good character, keenness of intellect through reasoning and investigation, correctness of judgement through his experiences, truthfulness through culture, culture through hard exertions, liberal-mindedness through sympathy and discrimination, perseverance and painstaking through his rigid piety.

But when desire and passions overcome reason, they make virtues turn into vices : forbearance turns into grudging (or secret enmity), knowledge into hypocrisy, wisdom into cunning, culture into boastfulness, eloquence into volubility, generosity into pride (and love of show), economy into miserliness, forgiveness into cowardice. A man in this condition thinks that the only health is the health of the body, and the only knowledge is that of over-reaching and preying upon others, that the only wealth is money, the only firmness is amassing and preserving riches, and that the only power is that of overawing and treading down mankind. And all these qualities lead their possessor further away from happiness and safety and plunge him into misery and destruction.

But when reason preponderates and rules over desire and passions, the very vices turn into virtues : stupidity and dullness turn into gravity and forbearance, impetuosity into ready wittedness, cunning into wisdom, volubility into eloquence, inability to reply into dignified taciturnity, brutality into civility, rashness into valour, timidity into prudence, extravagance into liberality.

Hence the most blessed among mankind is he the greatest of whose

mental faculties is reason, the least of whose wealth is his knowledge, who is decorated with art and ornamented with learning. Whose abundance increases with his thanksgiving to God, and from whom evils are averted by his praying to Him.

But, when a man is deprived of wisdom, no king can make him exalted, and no treasures can make him rich. And whosoever is without faith no teachings of the doctors and theologians can make him a true believer.

A brave man resembles a lion, a cowardly bully a wolf, a cunning person a fox, a fool a donkey. One who has neither exterior nor interior beauty is like a weed, and he who possesses only personal beauty but not mental and moral excellence is like the leopard; one with an ugly exterior, but inner excellence is like the almond. One who combines in himself both the inner and the outer excellences is like the melon of Damascus which is beautitul in colour and shape, fragrant of smell, and sweet in taste.

No untruthful king deserves to be called a king, and no hypocritical hermit merits the name of a hermit. No faithless brother is a brother. No boastful giver deserves to be termed benevolent. A man of learning who does not benefit others with his knowledge is like a miser who buries his treasures.

It is unworthy of a wise man to grieve at the occurrence of misfortunes, for no one whose heart is occupied with sorrow can successfully fight with evils.

He is not truly benevolent who shows kindness only to the good, but he who is kind to all. He is really truthful who speaks the truth to one who has been false to him, and honest is that man who keeps faithful to one who has betrayed him. He is truly just who does justice to one who has been unjust to him.

Likewise truly charitable is he who returns good for evil, forgives his oppressor, and shows generosity to one who has been niggardly towards him, who never forgets a kindness shown to him, and forgives and forgets the evil done to him. Truly brave is he who pardons his enemy when the latter is at his mercy, and who befriends all those in need of help.

Verily a wise man never feels ashamed of the obscurity of his birth nor grieves on account of poverty.

A wise man seeks the nearness of God instead of that of kings, and fears Him instead of his enemies. He envies no one, and seeks precedence over none. He desires neither the robes of a doctor nor the sceptre of a ruler, nor the pomp of a courtier.

LE SECRE DE SECREZ

(Bibl. Nat. fr. 25407, ff. 173-196.)

The writer of this version of the *Secret of Secrets* is variously known as Piere d'Abernun, Piere de Vernon and Piere de Peckham. The second is the name by which he was formerly known, and under which he is treated of in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*; but as 'de Vernon' is merely an arbitrary and entirely unnecessary rendering of the 'de Abernun' in l. 2379 of the text it is now no longer used.

Abernon (or Abernun as it was written by the Normans) is the old form of Abenon, a commune of the canton of Orbec, in the arrondissement of Lisieux. The land in the eleventh century belonged to an old Norman family, a branch of which followed the Conqueror to England and came into possession of estates in Cambridgeshire and Surrey. We hear that Enguerand d'Abernon was present at the founding of the Abbey of Savigny in 1112. Piere probably lived towards the middle of the thirteenth century, according to M. Paul Meyer who treats, in his article on the French MSS. in Cambridge (*Romania*, xv, p. 288), of the possible identity of Piere d'Abernun and Piere de Peckham. This identity is accepted by M. Gaston Paris and other critics; it is based chiefly on ll. 2362–7 of this text, but the fact that the Abernon family is known to have settled in England is of importance, and also the resemblance in language and style of the two works, *Le Secré de Secrez* by Piere d'Abernun, and *La Lumere as Lais* by Piere de Peckham. There are several MSS. of this latter poem in England—two in Cambridge, and three in the British Museum—and it is said to be of the thirteenth century.

Le Secré de Secrez has been sometimes assigned to a rather earlier date; Barbazon even fixed it so early as *before* the twelfth century, but the language, as de la Rue pointed out, shows a later development of Anglo-Norman. The manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in a volume of pieces of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[1] Primes saciez ke icest treitez [p. 36[7]]
Est 'Le Secré de Secrez' numez,
Ke Aristotle, le philosophe ydoine,
Le fiz Nichomache de Macedoine,
A sun deciple Alisandre, en bone fei,
Le grant, le fiz Phelippe le rei,
Le fist en sa graunt vielesce
Quant de cors esteit en fieblesce,
Pus qu'il ne pout pas travailler
Ne al rei Alisandre repeirer,
Pur reale bosoine atreiter
De sun deciple, k'aveit mult cher.
Kar Alisandre en fin l'ameit,
Kar graunz biens de lui aperneit,
Dunt suverein de sun cunseil esteit,
Kar prince e mestre le feseit
Des reaumes de tute sa gent
Pur sun tres noble entendement.

Cist Aristotle quant viel esteit
Sa vie en bien mener peneit;
Entente mist e nuiz e jurs
Entur vertuz de bone murs.
Kar asez sout de philosophie,
De logike e de naturel clergie,
[p. 37]
Dunt tant come Aristotle vesquist.
[2] Alisandre partut bien le fist

Line 1 *Of the writing of this treatise.* 9 *Aristotle was too feeble to journey to Alexander.* 15 *Alexander ruled by Aristotle's advice, and therefore became all powerful.*

[1] f. 173 v° a. [2] f. 173 v° b.

E bien sun regne governeit
Par sun sein cunseil ke il useit,
Dunt partut victoire aveit,
Partut cunquist, come chies teneit,
Tuz les reaumes cum un feseit,
A lui entendant le mund esteit.

Aristotle mut espistles feseit [p. 38^{3}]
De morautez, kar il desireit
Ke chescun bon fust endreit de sei
E endreit des autres, en bone fei.

Alisandre une epistle envea [p. 38^{6}]
De un respunse ke lui dona
Quant Alisandre aveit cunquis
Les Persiens, e trestut suzmis;
Endreit de ceo si lui mandeit
Come oir purrez ore endreit.

'O noble mestre, governur de dreit,
A ta cointise mand orendreit
Ke jeo ai gent en Perse trové
De grant sen e grant sutifté,
Ke s'aforcent d'estudier
Coment sur autres pussent regner.
Dunt en purpos sui veirement
Trestuz occire icele gent;
Dunt par vostre escrit nus mandez
[1]De ceste afere ke vus volez.'
[p. 38^{15}]
Aristotle li remande en teu manere:
'Si vus poez' fet-il 'changer la terre,
L'eir e les eues, e des[2] citez
La disposition changer purrez,
Fetes, dunques, hardiement
De eus trestut vostre talent.
Si ceo nun, saciez de veir,
Si seignurie volez utre eus aveir
En bone manere e bonement,
Oez les deboneirement
E treitiez en amur la gent;
E jeo vus afi certeinement
Ke, si si fetes, enseur seez
Ke de eus frez vos volentez,
E suget vus serrunt en bon amur
Par l'aide Deu, nostre Seignur,
E obeissant en amur vus serrunt,
E tuz voz comandemenz perferunt,
E si vus amerunt leaument
E frunt trestut vostre talent.
La victoire de eus issi averez
E en pes utre eus regnerez.'

Alisandre, quant receu aveit [p. 38^{24}]
L'espistle k'Aristotle li enveeit,
Sulum sun cunseil pleinement
[3] Feseit endreit de cele gent;
Dunt les Persiens trestuz esteient
A sun empire, plus k'autre n'esteient,
De tuz les naciuns la gent
A tuz jurs plus obedient.

Aristotle plus li envea
Une epistle ou respuns dona
Alisandre de ceo ke li out
Mandé avant, ceo ke lui plout,
Si come orendroit orrez
Si vostre entente bien i metez;
Mes d'Alisandre le mandement
N'i truvai pas verraiement,
For come Aristotle lui ad tuché
En le espistle ki ad mandé
A Alisandre generaument,
Dunt treite apres especiaument.

De ceste epistle si est la tenur: [p. 40^{5}]
'O glorius fiz empereür,
Deu te cunferme, pur sa puissance,
En dreiture e en conuissance,
Vus meine de vertuz en veritez
E vus toille, pur ses poestez,
Tut vostre bestial talent,
E de tun regne doint aforcement
E de engin esluminement
[4]A lui servir a sun talent!
[p. 40^{16}]
'Cher sire, si vus plust entendre
Ne me dussez blamer ne reprendre
Ke ne vieng a vus a tun talent,
Kar saciez le, sire, veraiement,
Ke nel faz mie en desdein,
Einz est l'encheisun, seez certein,
Pesantume d'age e fieblesce
Ke met mun cors en grant destresce
E me rent en tant nunpoer
Ke ne pus pas ver vus mover.

Mes[5] la chose ke demandastes [p. 40^{21}]
E de mei saver desirastes

Line 33 *Aristotle wrote a letter of advice about the Persians.* 37 *Alexander's letter about the Persians.* 53 *Aristotle's answer.* 61 *Alexander must use kindness towards them, and they will become loyal.* 75 *Aristotle's advice was followed with success.* 83 *Alexander again asked for counsel, but his letter is lost.* 95 *Aristotle's second letter.* 108 *He excuses himself for not waiting upon the king.* 115 *Alexander's demand is very searching, but Aristotle must answer.*

[1] f. 174 r° a. [2] l. 55, des] MS. les. [3] f. 174 r° b. [4] f. 174 v° a.
[5] l. 115, The rubricator has omitted the paragraph mark indicated by the scribe.

Est țeu priveté veraiement
K'a peine humeine entendement
Le purra suffrir a enquerre.
Coment dunc par quel afere
Escrit en parchemin apertement ?
Pust ceo k'enquerre vus apent
E a mei atreiter leaument
Saciez ke fort est veraiement,
Mes il me covient e sui en dette
De la respunse ke m'entremette,
E vus estes deu par raisun
Entendre la par discretiun ;
Kar si cest livre regardez
[1] Ke vus envei, e estudiez,
E lisez volenters e sovent
Issi ke en eiez entendement
E pleinement eiez trestut conceu
Quanke est el livre contenu,
Sanz doute jeo crei veirement
Ke ja n'aura desturbement
Entre vus e ceo k'avez
De saver avant desirrez.
Kar Deu vus a doné veirement
Tant grace e entendement
E vistesce d'engin e letrure
E de ma doctrine ausi la cure,
K'apris avez de mei avant,
Ke certein crei estre de taunt
Ke par vus meimes le conquerez,
E quanke'l i a bien entendrez,
E ceo primes aviez en desir
Saurez tut a tun pleisir ;
Kar de ta volenté la fervence
Vus durra veie de science
A vostre purpos a venir
E a la fin de vostre desir
Sulum l'aie Nostre Seignur :
Deu nus doint de lui socur !' [p. 41[3]]

⟨O⟩re comence l'especiale
[2]Respunce apres la generale. [p. 42[29]]

Quatre reis sunt : li premer rei
Larges est a⟨s⟩ suens e a sei ;
Li autre est aver endreit li
E endreit de ses[3] sugez ausi ;
Le tierz est aver endreit sei
E larges as suens en bone fei ;
Le quart vers sei ad la largesce
E vers ses sugez ad la destresce.
Les Lumbarz diseient, en bone fei,
Ke ceo n'est mie vice a rei
Estre endreit sei meimes aver
E largesce endreit des suens aver.

Les Indiens diseient ke bons est li rei
Ke aver est a⟨s⟩ suens e a sei.

Les Persiens le cuntraire affermeient,
E le cuntraire as Indiens diseient,
E diseient ke rien ne vaut le rei
Si as suens n'est larges e a sei.

Mes entre trestuz veraiement
Peiir est, par mun jugement,
Le rei kicunke ceo seit
Ki a sei est larges e a suens estreit ;
Kar le regne a tel veraiement
Destruit ert tost subitement.

Pur ceo covient veraiement [p. 43[6]]
[4] De ceo enquere sutivement
De ces vices e vertuz,
E quels ert dreit large tenuz,
E quei seit numé dreit largesce
E quei avarice ki fet destresce,
E ou chiet en largesce errur,
E quel mal en vient a chief de tur
A celui ki ne fet largesce
Mes de ses biens fet destresce.

Dunt est a saver e seez certein [p. 43[9]]
Ke quant la chose passe la maen
Cele chose est a reprover
Quant al main ne puet acorder.
E pur ceo ke fort est a hurter
Le dreit point de largesce aver
(E si est le meins ou plus leger
Par gast ou avarice a hanter)
Pur ceo est fort, saciez de veir,
Pure largesce a dreit saveir.

[p. 43[14]]
Pur ceo, si volez largesce aver,
Regardez primes tun poer ;
Regarder ausi le tens devez
Des bosoignes e de necessitez,
E si devez regarder ensement
Deserte e merite de la gent.
Pur ceo devez vus doner
[5] Sulum l'estente de tun poer

Line 127 *Alexander will divine the secret.* 139 *For he has great insight.* 155 *The Treatise.* 157 *Of generosity and avarice. Four kinds of kings.* 165 *Which is the best kind?* 181 *We must examine and find the nature of true liberality.* 191 *Extremes are to be avoided.* 201 *Consider your means, the needs, and the merits of those you help.*

[1] f. 174 v° b. [2] f. 175 r° a. [3] l. 160, ses] MS. ces. [4] f. 175 r° b. [5] f. 175 v° a.

A gent ke sunt dignes e unt mester
Si dreit largesce volez aver.
Kar saciez le verraiement
Ke celui ke fet autrement
Encuntre la riule pecche e mesprent
De largesce tut utrement.
Kar ki done a tel ki mester n'a
Ja merite de ceo n'aura ;
E ki ke dune a ces ki ne sunt mie
Dignes tut pert e fait folie ;
E ki utre mesure sun aveir
Done, saciez le de veir
K'al port amer tost avendra
De Poverté, ou arivera,
E a celui resemblera
Ke dune la victoire qu'il a
A ses enemis sanz respit.
Fous est cil ke si se vit.

Celui dunkes ki durra [p. 43^{23}]
As bons quant mester serra,
Ke bosoigne unt en bone fei,
Celui est dreit large rei,
Kar a sei est large verraiement
E a ses sugez ensement.
Le regne a tel s'esforcera,
[1] E quanke il comande fet serra.
Itel rei de auntiens loé fu,
Entempré e larges dit en vertu.

Le rei ke dune veraiement [p. 43^{27}]
Les biens du regne inordeinement
A ces ke pas digne ne sunt
Ne d'autre part mester n'en unt
Celui est en verité
Del bien del people wastur numè
E del regne destriuur.
Dunt rien ne vaut tel governur,
Kar il est wastur en verité
E si est il a dreit numé,
Kar rien ne vaut, saciez sans dotance,
Al regne ke tient sa purveance.

E saciez ausi ke avarice [p. 43^{32}]
Si est a rei tres grant vice,
Einz descovient en verité
A la reale majesté.

Si aucun rei dunkes a d'avarice
Ou de fole largesce la vice
Si se deit cunseiller utreement,
E purveer ententivement
Un leal humme e descret tenu,
Ke de muz seit eslu,
A ki deit utrement bailler
[2] Les bosoigne del reaume atreiter
E l'aver despendre e governer
Si come verra mieuz espleiter.

O Alisandre, noble rei, [p. 44^{7}]
Fermement vus di, en bone fei,
Celui ki veut continuer
Seignurie utre poer,
E utre mesure veut tenir
Plus ke sun regne ne put suffrir,
Saciez ke teu rei destruera
E sanz doute destruit serra.

Pur ces uncore le vus di, [p. 44^{10}]
E suvent l'avez de moi oï,
Ke d'avarice l'abatement
E de fole largesce ensement,
E aver largesce, come dis enceis,
Est joie e gloire des reis,
E si est ausi confermement
Des regnes pardurablement.
E saciez ke ceste chose avient
Quant rei ou prince se detient
E retreit sa main ke ne s'entremet
Des biens ke lui sunt suget,
Ne ne lur vuet de rien grever ;
Itel rei puet a dreit regner.
Dunt jeo trovai escrit ades
[3] De cel grant mestre Hermogenes
Ke la suveraine e verraie bunté,
E de veraie entendement clarté,
E si est plenierté de lei
E signe de perfection en rei,
La abstinence ver sugez aver
Ke rien ne preigne de lur aver.

[p. 44^{19}]
Del regne de Chaldeus l'encheisun
De tute la destruction
Fu en despenses, en verité,
La tresgraunt superfluité ;
Kar les despenses plus amunteient [4]
Ke les rentes des citez ne feseient,
E quant rentes et despenses faillirent
Les reis lur meins estendirent
As choses e as rentes utreement

Line 227 *The truly generous king.* 237 *The false generosity of a king.* 249 *Avarice is a great vice.* 253 *An avaricious or spendthrift king should depute a wise man to spend money.* 279 *The truly generous king respects the rights of his subjects.* 289 *So says Hermogenes.* 293 *The cause of the downfall of the Chaldeans.*

[1] f. 175 v° b. [2] f. 176 r° a. [3] f. 176 r° b. [4] l. 297, amunteient] MS. amunterunt.

Des sugez torcenusement.
[p. 44[22]]
Les sugez dunkes pur le tort grant
Crierent a Deu le tut puissant,
Ki vent e tempeste i envea
Ke tres fierement les turmenta,
E grant poeple tost cuntre eus leva
E lur nun de terre del tut osta,
E si ne fu ceo ke Deu si out mis
Le regne destriut fust a tut dis.

Saciez le dunc ke sanz aver [p. 44[29]]
[1] Ne puet le people pas lunc durer,
Ne saunz . . . .
Ne puet rei regne governer.

Pur ceo fet, en verité,
A eschivre superfluité
E d'espenses trop habundance ;
Ke si le fet ne fet pas enfaunce.
[p. 44[32]]
Pur ceo covient temperance aver
Ki veut largesce purchacer,
Kar trop e folement duner
Fet a eschivre et reprover.
E si est de largece la sustenance
Volentiers parduner sanz dotance. [45[1]]
Ne ne fet des privetez d'autrui
Ne des secrez enquere, saciez de fi ;
Ne ne fet pas a remenbrer
Chose donee ne a rehercer ;
E si est de bunté e vertu [p. 45[3]]
Renumbrer ceo k'est avenu,
E tort volentiers relesser,
E honurables honurer.
E si deit ausi a simple gent
Aidier deboneremen t ;
As innocens si [2] deit suvenir,
A lur defautes paremplir.
Respundre deit benignement
[3] A salutacion de la gent,
E sa lange deit refrener,
E tort a tens dissumuler,
E feindre de fol la folie
Ausi cum ne la sache mie.

Enseigné vus ai en bone fei [p. 45[9]]
Ceo ke avant enseigner solei
Tuz jurs, e en vostre quor, seigner,
Bien sai nel volez oblier ;
Pur ceo m'afi veraiement
Ke vus tiegnez ces ducement,
E vos veies e fetz tenez
E si en estes esluminez
E si avez science e clergie
A vus governer tote ta vie.

Nepurquant, vus di, sapience [p. 45[15]]
Naturele enbrechie science.
E meske ja n'usse dit ceo k'est avant
Fors sus le sen ke est ensivant
Enfin vus suffisera asez
A tuz voz eovres ke ferez.

Saciez dunc k'entendement [p. 45[19]]
Est chief de governement,
Santé del alme, e gardein
Des vertuz, seez certein,
E si est espiur des pecchez,
[4] Kar en li regardum, bien le sacez,
Les maus ke sunt a despire
E les biens ke devum eslire.
Il est des vertuz nesance,
E si est racine, sanz doutance,
Des duns ke sunt a preiser
E honurables sanz reprover ;
E si en est veraiement
De tuz biens premier estrument.
[p. 45[24]]
Entendement, saciez, sanz blame
Est desir de bone fame,
E ki de bone fame est desirus
Bons ert a tuz e glorius ;
E ki la desire feintement,
Saciez le veraiement,
Par infamie ert confundu
E par esclandre ert viel tenu.

Saciez dunc ke principaument
Est fame eslue en governement,
Kar regne pur sei n'est desirez,
Einz est pur bone fame saciez ;
Dunc est, saciez, comencement
De sapience e d'entendement
Desir de bone fame en vie,
K'est cunquis par regne e seignurie ;
E celui ke purchace autrement
[5] Regne ou seignurie, veraiement
Pur bone fame ne cunquert mie,
Mes fait utreement par envie.
[p. 46[1]]
D'envie est mencunge engendree

Line 315 *Avoid extravagance, therefore.* 325 *Of other conduct befitting a king.* 343 *You have learning.* 353 *And also natural wisdom, which is better.* 359 *Of understanding.* 373 *Of good fame.* 381 *Empire is coveted for the sake of renown.* 393 *The offspring of envy.*

[1] f. 176 v° a. [2] l. 335, si] MS. li. [3] f. 176 v° b. [4] f. 177 r° a. [5] f. 177 r° b.

K'est racine de chose reprovee
E si est matire entirement
De vices, saciez veraiement :
Kar envie engendre detractiun,
Detractiun hange engendre en sun,
Hange engendre tort suvent,
Tort inobedience ensement,
Inobedience ire sanz dutance,
E ire engendre repugnance
E repugnance engendre enemistez
E enemistez bataille asez,
Bataille la lei tute defet,
Les citez destruit par grant forfet,
K'est contraire a nature sanz dutance,
E ki ke fet a nature repugnaunce
Tut l'oure, saciez vereiment,
Destruit trestut outreement.

Estudiez dunkes e amez [p. 46[10]]
E le desir de bone fame eiez.
Kar le desir de bone fame
Estreit verité sanz blame.
Verité est racine, sanz fable,
[1] E matire de tuz biens aloable :
Kar contraire est a mencunge pure
E si engendre desir de dreiture,
Dreiture engendre afiance,
Afiance largesce sanz enfance,
Largesce fet especiauté,
Especiauté fet amisté,
Amisté engendre en ceste vie
Dreit cunseil e bone aïe.
Par ceo saciez ke le mund fu
Ordiné e tut conceu
E la lei establie a gent
Ke a reison e a nature apent ;
Pur ceo desir de governement [p. 46[17]]
Pur bone fame aver leaument
Est veraiement loable
E bien ke est en fin durable.

[p. 46[21]]
O Alisandre, k'estes de ma doctrine
Enseigné e enbeu en ta petrine,
Restreignez en tei les apetiz
Ke vienent de charneus deliz,
Kar teus appetiz l'alme decline
As corruptibles volentez, sanz fausine,
Bestiales, saunz descretion
Ou purveance ne vient en reisun,
Mes el cors corruptible veraiement
[2] Ert alué, e rendra dolent
Le incorruptible entendement ;
Si en irra l'afere malement.

[p. 46[2]]
Saciez dunke ke l'aforcement
Ke vint de delit charneument
Si engendre charnel amur,
E amur avarice a chief de tur,
E pus engendre avarice apres
Le desir de divices aver ades,
E cel desir de divices tant amunte
Ke fet un humme estre sanz hunte,
E estre sanz hunte veraiement
Engendre fole emprise suvent ;
Fole emprise desleauté met en fin
E de desleauté vient larecin,
De larecin est esclandre engendré,
De laquele si nest cheitiveté
Ke desuz met humme en ceste vie
E defet des bons la cumpaignie,
E met le cors a destructiun,
Ka⟨r⟩ a nature est contraire e a reisun.

A rei covient premierement, [p. 47[6]]
Quant a sei meimes principaument,
Ke en bone fame en verité
Seit sun nun despeoplé,
E k'en sapience seit loable,
[3] E k'a ses hummes seit resunable
E k'a eus paroge sagement,
Kar saciez le veraiement
Ke dunc serra de eus honuré
E par ceo cremu e douté ;
Kar de ceo ert duté ki s'eloquence
Veit, e entent sa sapience
De tuz, saciez verraiement.
E si puet en legierement [p. 47[11]]
Par certeins signes bien saver
E legierement apercever
En rei le quel, sen ou folie,
Ert en li la seignurie.
Kar saciez ke cil est digne rei
Ke sun regne sumet a la Deu lei ;
Seignurie aura utre la gent
E regnera honurablement.
Mes celui ke la lei Deu sumet
E fet a sun regne suget,
Celi a ⟨a⟩ verité sanz respit
Trespassé, si ad en despit
Sa lei, e ki en despit a
Lei de verité en despit serra
De tuz, si ert condempné

Line 411 *The offspring of the desire for good fame.* 433 *Of the indulgence of the appetites.* 445 *Offspring of the indulgence of the appetites.* 463 *The king must be renowned for wisdom.* 481 *Of the religion of a king.*

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[1] f. 177 v° a. [2] f. 177 v° b. [3] f. 178 r° a.

En la lei, saciez, de verité.
[p. 47[21]]
Derechief vus di ke la sage gent
[1] De philosophie e d'entendement,
Ke lur divinité parleient
E de ceo apertement diseient
Ke reale majesté avient
E en dreiture le covient
Reales constituciuns aver,
E a ceo sanz feintise acorder,
Ne mie en feintise d'aparance
Mes dreit en aperte fesance,
Ke tuz veient e seient certein
K'il dute Deu le suverain,
E k'il veient trestuz par tant
Ke suget seit al Tut-Puissant ;
E par itant en bone fei
Duterunt e honurrunt lur rei
Quant il le veient Deu douter
E en tutes maneres honurer.

Mes si sa religiun sulement [p. 47[27]]
Seit en aparance devant la gent,
E seit en eovre maufesant,
De Deu ert reprové par itant
E serra en despit de gent
E defamez en ert veraiement ;
Kar fort est malement overer
E l'ovre al people dunc celer.
L'empire a tel e de gloire l'onur
[2] Ert ennienti a chief de tur.

Ke volez vus ke plus en die ? [p. 48[1]]
N'est pris ne tresor en ceste vie
Ke pust el siecle tant valer
Come fet de bone fame aver.

Ensurketut a rei apent, [p. 48[6]]
Saciez le veraiement,
Les sires des leis honurer,
Religius en reverence aver,
Les sages eshaucer
E ovek eus treiter dutes muver
E honestes questiuns demander,
E de eus aprendre dunke coment
Respundre pust enseurement.
Les plus sages e les plus nobles deit
Plus honurer ; sulum ceo ke veit
K'a chescun estait apent
Les deit honurer veirement.

[p. 48[12]]
Ensurketut covient rei penser
Coment pust sagement arester,
As cas ke puissent avenir,
Ke de plus legier le pust suffrir ;
Purver se deit sagement
K'eschape de ennui legierement.

E si apent a rei, devez saver, [p. 48[16]]
Sur tute rien pitié aver,
[3] E remuer deit le movement
D'irus corage utrement,
Ke depurveuement, sanz deliverance,
Ne se deit mie en male fesance.
Sun errur deit reisunablement
Conustre e repeler sagement,
Kar suvereine sapience est a rei
A dreit governer meimes sei.
[p. 48[19]]
Quant rei veit dunc k'est bien a fere,
Ou profitable chose que seit a fere,
Face le o discresciun,
Ne mie trop tart mes en reisun,
Ne trop tost, ke veu ne seit
Trop hastif ne lent en sun dreit.
[p. 48[25]]
E saciez ausi en verité
K'il avient a reale majesté
Estre vestu honurablement,
E tuz jurs o bel apparaillement
De chiers e de beau vestement
E des plus estranges ensement
Se deit entre la gent apparer,
Ke en beauté les autres pust surmunter,
Kar bien saciez k'a rei apent,
Pur sun poer ke ad utre gent,
Les autres en tuz poinz surmunter
Ne vus dei pas iceo celer,
[4] Par unt sa digneté seit enbelie ;
E ke sa poesté ne seit blemie
Chescun li face en sa science,
Come a rei, due reverence.
D'autre part apent a rei
Aver facunde sanz desrei
Haute, e la voiz haute e clere,
Ke mut profite a grant manere
En tens quant bataille avient,
Kar en teu tens haut parler covient.
[p. 49[2]]
O Alisandre, kar ore m'entendez :
Bele chose e honurable est, saciez,

Line 500 *It must be genuine in word and deed.* 508 *Then will the people honour him.* 511 *A feigned piety will only bring him into contempt.* 525 *Of honouring the wise.* 538 *Of foresight.* 544 *Of self-control.* 560 *Of rich apparel.* 576 *The king must speak well and clearly.* 582 *Of being spare of speech.*

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[1] f. 178 r° b. [2] f. 178 v° a. [3] f. 178 v° b. [4] f. 179 r° a.

A rei trop parler desporter
Fors quant il veit ke seit mester,
Kar mieuz vaut ke gent eient desir
La eloquence de lui oïr
K'estre, saciez de verité,
De ses paroles trop asarcié ;
Kar des orailles la saulté
Le corage ensarzit, en verité.
Si ne vendrunt, en bone fei,
La gent sovent pur ver tel rei.

D'autre part a rei apent [p. 49^{9}]
K'il ne vienge pas trop suvent
Ne ne hante trop suvent mie
De ses sugez la cumpaignie,
[1] De viles persones numeement ;
Kar teu chose pas a rei n'apent,
Kar trop familierté a gent
Despit engendre de humme sovent.

Pur ceo est bele veirement [p. 49^{15}]
La costume de Indiene gent
Del regne en la dispositiun
E del rei l'ordinatiun
K'avient issi establiez
Ke le rei en l'an une feiz
S'aparrait entre tute sa gent
Od precius e real vestement,
Od gent armez trop fierement,
A sun destrier asis noblement,
Des armes tresbel aürné ;
E pus apres unt comandé
Le people luinz aukes ester,
Les nobles baruns aprecher
Al rei, ki soleit dunkes treiter
Des granz bosoignes a espleiter,
Les aventures esclarir e mustrer,
E les bosoignes parfurnier,
E quanke al regne e a la gent
Apendist demustrer leaument.

Si soleit en cel jur le rei [p. 49^{23}]
Doner granz duns, en bone fei ;
[2] E ces ki ne furent pas trop copable
Delivra de prisun, sanz fable,
E ces ki esteient de charge grevez
Par lui sunt cel jur relevez,
E mult des eovres feseit de pitié
A icel jur en verité.

[p. 49^{26}]
Le rei, apres ceo, se sereit,
E un des princes se levereit,
Ke plus fu sages e habundance
Eust en parole, sanz enfance.
E s'aforcera a preiser
Le rei a sun honur eshaucier,
E rendra graces al glorius De
Ke le regne ad si ordené,
E de si sage rei ausi
Par unt lur pais est enbeli,
E k'ad fet Indiene gent
Au rei acordant e obedient,
E ke les ad issi confermé
Ke sun d'un quor, dunt sunt loé.

[p. 49^{34}]
Puis, apres ceo ke ad Deu loez
E le rei en honur preisez,
S'en turne a la gent loer
E lur bones murs numbrer
Pur atrere lur bone voilance ;
Si les amene sanz dotance
[3] Par ensample e par raisun,
Pur mover lur discretiun,
A humilité e obedience
E a amur del rei e reverence.

Pur ceo tut le people apres [p. 50^{4}]
Estudia coment loer ades
Pust le rei, a sun nun eshaucer,
E ses bones eovres recunter ;
E chescun dunkes endreit sei
Prea pur la vie le rei,
E par les cités e les meignees
Ses eovres e sen furent cuntees.

[p. 50^{7}]
E pur ceo enseignerent, sanz dutance,
Lur enfanz e treiterent de enfance
Ke le rei dussent amer,
Obeir, duter e honurer.
En ceste manere ert publié
E acrestra en verité
La fame le rei certeinement
En secré e apertement.

[p. 50^{11}]
D'autre [4] part costume esteit
Les mals fesanz, quant tens sereit,

Line 594 *Of over-familiarity.* 602 *Of the custom of the Indians in this connexion.* 607 *The king appeared among his people once a year.* 616 *He spoke of state-matters,* 622 *gave gifts,* 624 *released prisoners, and did other deeds of mercy.* 630 *Then a noble spoke in praise of the king,* 644 *and of the people.* 654 *The people then praised the king among themselves,* 662 *and taught their children to honour him.* 670 *Traitors and malefactors, too. were punished.*

[1] f. 179 r° b. [2] f. 179 v° a. [3] f. 179 v° b.
[4] l. 670, sign omitted as in l. 115, &c.

E les feluns le rei punir
E, sulum lei, vie tolir,
Ke les uns fussent chastiez
E les autres par ceo amendez.

[1] A cel tens soleient alegier [p. 50[14]]
La gent de truages paer ;
E as marchanz grace soleient fere
Ke converserent en cele terre,
De lur rentes partie relesserent
E lur meiz e eus garderent
E defendirent. Dunt de Inde le nun
Poplié mut est; par cele raisun
Marchanz par tut i acurent,
E la gent de la terre les honurent
E receivent, e gainent citeins
Riches e povres e les foreins,
E de ceo vient en verité
Ke la rente le rei est enoité.

[p. 50[22]]
Par ceo fet a eschivre en terre
Marchant corocer ou tort fere,
Kar il portent fame de gent
Par le sieecle utreement.
Pur ceo a chescun sulum ke c'est
Est a rendre ceo ke suen est,
Kar issi serrunt les citez
Garniz e rentes multipliez,
E si acrestera, en bone fei,
L'onur e la gloire le rei ;
Si serrunt ses enemis continuament
Rebuté e confus ensement.
[2] Dunt si en teu manere vivez
E sur les autres issi regnez,
En peis e seurement vendrez
A voz desirs e volentez.

O Alisandre, ne desirez mie [p. 50[31]]
Choses corruptibles en ceste vie
E ke passent legierement,
Ke lesser covient subitement ;
Mes desirez richesce estable
E la vie ke n'est pas changable
E le regne k'est pardurable
Ou joie ad e gloire durable.

Voz pensees dunc adrescez [p. 50[34]]
E tuz jurs en biens remenez.
Dreite homesce en vus eez
E glorius en Deu vus rendez.
La vie de bestes eschivez,
Par reisun menez tes volentez.
Par manasces ne par demustrance
Ne seez pas cruel, kar c'est enfance ;
Dur a esparnier ne seez
A ces dunt victoire avez.

[p. 51[3]]
Pensez des choses k'est a venir
E de cas ke pust survenir,
Kar vus ne poez pas saver
Quei le jur a venir puet engendrer.[3]

[p. 51[4]]
[4] Voz desirs ke vienent ne sivez mie
En beivres ne en mangerie,
Ne en dormir de jurs, n'en lecherie,
Kar saciez ke c'est male vie.

[p. 51[6]]
Pur ceo, Emperur, reisun vus prie
Ke femmes ne purgisez mie,
Kar teu chose est en verité
A porc dreit une proprieté ;
Queu chose dunc ou gloire aurez
Quant teu vice averez haunté
Ke de beste est proprieté
Ke reisun n'unt en verité ?

[p. 51[10]]
Ore me creez seurement
Ke teu trespas veraiement
Fet la gent enfeminez,
Dunt mal apres en est engendrez.

Saciez k'a emperur apent [p. 51[18]]
Privez aver de lele gent
Od lesquels dunc parlera
Quant en enui aucun serra,
Od tute manere d'estrument
Sulum le delit k'eiment la gent ;
Kar l'alme d'umme natureument
Se delite en estrument,
Kar les sens dunkes se reposent,
Pensers e curiosité forclosent,
[5] E, saciez ceo, jeo vus afi
Ke le cors en ert aviguri.

Si vus avez dunc le voleir
En ceo pur vus deliter,
Itele vie au plus demenez
Treis jurs ou katre ou come verrez
Ke mieuz seit ; e plus honesté
Est ke seit fet en priveté.

Line 678 *Graces were conceded to merchants.* 690 *Of the treatment of merchants.* 706 *Of the desire for earthly things.* 720 *Be not cruel.* 724 *Think of the morrow.* 728 *Do not indulge the passion of the moment.* 744 *Of the diversion of a king.* 760 *It is better that it should be done in secret.*

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[1] f. 180 r° a. [2] f. 180 r° b. [3] l. 727, engendrer] MS. engendrir. [4] f. 180 v° a. [5] f. 180 v° b.

[p. 51[27]]
E quant vus en cest solaz serrez
Le beivre aidunc desportez,
E lessez autres a covenir
De beivre quant lur vient a pleisir;
En corage corociez vus feinez,
Kar dunc aparcever purrez
Mute choses e oïr
E secrez ke pussent avenir.
Mes ceste chose sovent pas fet ne seit
Mes dous fiez ou treis en l'an tut dreit.

Entur vus de ta meisnee eiez [p. 52[1]]
Le plus especiaus ke vus avez,
Ke dire vus pussent entrehet
De choses k'en tun regne sunt fet,
E ke choses ausi ke sunt cuntez
Par tun regne enquere pussez.

Entredeus travaus honorez [p. 52[5]]
Les sages e ces ke verrez
[1] Ke [2] par deserte honurer devez,
E chescun en sun estait tenez.

Un hui a tun manger preez, [p. 52[7]]
Un autre demein ki vus volez;
Un hui a vus atreez,
Un autre demain ausi le frez
E sulum chescun i degre
Chescun seit de vus honuré.
N'el ne seit de ta noble gent
Ke de ta largesce ne s'en sent,
E a tuz perge la bunté
De vostre reale majesté,
E la noblesce a chescun sage
Perge de tun liberal corage.

[p. 52[12]]
Entre les autres choses veirement
Saciez k'a chescun rei apent
Descretiun e contenance aver;
De trop rire se deit desporter,
Kar trop rire, saciez verraiement,
Tout reverence de la gent
E vielesce sout engendrer,
Pur ceo fet bien a desporter.

Ensurketut devez saver [p. 52[16]]
Ke le rei la gent plus honurer
Deit en sa curt, veraiement,
E en consitoire ensement [p. 52[21]]
[3] Plus k'aillurs; kar dunc apent
Al rei fees fere dreit a la gent
K'aillurs sunt a tort grevez,
Là deivent estre relevez;
Dunt si les riches as autres funt ⟨tort⟩
Là covient aver resort;
Dunt les nobles e hauz sunt a punir
Ou la gent del people covient morir.

Dunc est bien aver rigur, [p. 52[24]]
E cuntinance garder, sanz folur,
Issi ke seit entre le rei
E ses sugez, sanz desrei,
Difference e destincteisun
Entre persones, kar c'est reisun;
Kar escrit est en verité
El livre Esculape numé
Ke le rei est mut a preiser [p. 52[27]]
E si fet ausi mut a amer
Ke resemble al egle en ceste vie
Ke sur tuz oiseaus ad seignurie,
Ne mie celui k'al oiselet
Resemble, ke li est suget.

Pur ceo ki k'en la cort le rei [p. 52[29]]
Ou en sa presence fet un desrei
Ou tort ou chose ke n'est a fere,
A regarder est a enquere
[4] Coment il feseit itel damage;
Encerchier deit um sun corage
Si en juant le fet solement
Pur solacer e reheiter la gent,
Ou en despit de ta digneté
E en deshonur de ta reauté.
Si en giu seit fet solement
Pardoné seit legierement;
Si ceo seit feit par felonie
Dreit est ke perde la vie.

O Alisandre, seez certein [p. 53[3]]
Ke obedience a soverein
En katre choses dreit se estent:
En religiun e amur ensement,
En curteisie e reverence.
Saciez ke c'est grant science.

Line 762 *Feign only to drink, but encourage others to do so.* 770 *Such things should be done seldom.* 772 *Have friends near you to report the doings and sayings of the people.* 778 *Of honouring men as they deserve.* 788 *Let every noble feel your graciousness.* 794 *Of immoderate laughter.* 802 *Of the king's court.* 814 *Of circumstance and ceremony.* 828 *Permit no disorder in the court.* 831 *See if a disturbance be made in jest or not,* 838 *and punish accordingly.* 842 *Four causes of obedience to a king.*

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[1] f. 181 r° a. [2] l. 780, Ke] MS. Kar. [3] f. 181 r° b. [4] f. 181 v° a.

Alisandre, a vus cunvertez [p. 53^{5}]
Les corages as sugez ke vus avez ;
Lur trespas e lur tort ostez.
A la gent matire pas ne donez
Ke mal pussent parler de vus,
Kar le pueple tot a estrus,
Quant mal de vus dire purreit,
De legier cuntre vus serreit.
Continez vus dunc issi, cheir sire,
Ke mal ne pussent cuntre vus dire
[1] E par tant, bien le saciez,
Tut lur malfere eschiverez.

[p. 53^{10}]
Ensurketut saciez de verité
Ke descretiun e meurté
Gloire est de digneté en vie ;
E reverence de seignurie,
Saciez le certeinement
Ke c'est del regne eshaucement.

[p. 53^{12}]
E saciez ke sovereine prudence
Est k'enhabite ta reverence
Es quors des sugez plus k'amur,
Kar escrit est e leu en autur [p. 53^{18}]
Ke le rei en regne par sun afere
Est come la pluie ki chiet en terre,
Laquele est la Deu grace en sun
Del ciel, e de terre beneicun,
Vie as vivanz sanz doutance,
Es si est a tuz aidaunce,
Kar par pluie vient esperaunce
As marchanz e lur aidance.
En pluie sovent toneirs vienent,
E fudres sovent ausi encheient,
En riveres fet cretine sovent,
Les russeaus s'en enflent ensement,
E mut avienent, les mers fremissent,
Par quei mut vivanz perissent.

[p. 53^{25}]
[2] Nepurquant teus maus k'avienent
Ne desturbent pas home ne detienent
K'il ne louent le glorius De
Del ciel en sa majesté,
Ki les signes de grace recorde
E ses duns de misericorde.
Kar par la pluie est vivifié
Quanke nest en terre engendré,
Les arbres burjunent par tant,
En verdurs sa beneiçon espaunt ;
E pur ceo loent Deu la gent
E mettent en obli veirement
Les mals ke suffrient avant
Pur le bien ke en vient tres grant.

Le rei ausi resemble vent [p. 53^{31}]
Ke Deu nus enveit e estent
Del tresor de sa grant merci ;
Les nues nus enveit par li,
Les blez en cressent e arbres ausi,
Les fruz en sunt enmeuri,
L'espirit sa force reprent,
E ewe desiree en rent ;
As nagianz fet grant bien le vent,
Kar aperte vie en mer lur rent,
E mut des biens en vienent ausi
Ke tut ne puet estre retreit ici.
[3] E ausi en vienent sanz dutance
Mut de mals e grant desturbance ;
Divers peril en vient sovent
En terre e en mer ensement,
Dulurs ameint dedenz e dehors,
D'omme en tempeste perit le cors ;
Corruptiun en l'eir est engendré,
E norit venim en verité
E autre mals k'en vienent asez
Ke pas ne poent ore estre cuntez.

E meske home le creatur
Deprie, Deu nostre Seignur,
De oster le mal ke de vent vient,
Ja de plus tart ne le sustient
E sun curs e ordre ausi,
Sulum ceo k'avant out establi,
Kar sa sapience vereiement
En ordre e en peis ensement
Tutes choses ad destiné
E establi, en verité,
K'a ses serf servent leaument ;
E ceo li vient veraiement
De sa tres noble e grant merci
E de la tresgrant bunté de li.

Meimes l'ensample en verité [p. 54^{17}]
Troverez de yver e d'esté :
[4] L'un est chaud e l'autre freit,
Les queus la sapience Deu tut dreit

Line 848 *Win the hearts of your people.* 851 *Give them no opportunity of speaking ill of you.* 866 *Of the fear of the king.* 869 *The king is likened to rain,* 872 *which is a blessing* 879 *and a curse.* 884 *Yet people praise God for it.* 898 *The king is likened to wind,* 901 *which brings good* 910 *and evil.* 920 *Men pray for the evil to be removed.* 923 *But the course of the universe is ordained and unchanged.* 934 *The king is likened to summer and winter.*

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[1] f. 181 v° b. [2] f. 182 r° a. [3] f. 182 r° b. [4] f. 182 v° a.

Par sa tres grant purveance
Establi tuz jurs sanz faillance
Pour natureu choses engendrer,
Nurir, mener pur durer ;
E mut des mals en vienent nepurkant
E morteus perils par itant,
U en yvern par la freidur
U en esté par la chalur.

[p. 54[22]]

Ausi avient il, c'est la parclose,
En rei, mut profitable chose
E biens, k'a ses sugez desplet,
K'en rei regarder a tuz bon est.

[p. 54[28]]

O Alisandre, encerchez
La poverté e les necessitez
Des povres e cheitive gent,
Des fiebles e meseisez ensement ;
De lur defaute suvienge vus,
De ta bunté tut a estrus
Un prudumme e bien sachant
Ke seit de lur lange entendant
Establiez, e k'eime dreiture
Ke de teu chose enpreigne cure,
Ke Deu vostre vie sustiegne
E en bien e honur vus meintiegne,
[1] Ke eus pussez merciablement
Amer e governer ensement ;
Kar en ces est, saciez sanz dotance,
De la lei tute observance,
E leesce a la gent e sucur,
E bone vulance del creatur.

[p. 55[7]]

O Alisandre, pernez en cure
K'asez eiez de warnesture
De ble e d'autre chose profitable
Ke bone seit e a gent mangable,
Ke suffire pussent en vostre terre
En tens de feim, kant aurez a fere
Si come avient en chieres anees
Kant defaute est par les cuntrees,
Ke pussez par tun purveer
Ta gent aider kant unt mester.
En tens de bosoigne de veir sacez
Ke sucure covient a tes citez ;
Vos celiers dunkes overer devez
E par tun regne e les citez
Fere crier e puplier
Furment e greins pur restorrer.
Ceo ert grant cointise veirement
E purveance al regne ensement,
E si serra sauvetez
E garde au people e citez.

[p. 55[15]]

[2] Vostre [3] comandement dunc passera
E vostre fet si aforcera
E pleinement de ta purveance
Dunt tuz en aurunt afiance,
Kar t⟨r⟩estuz dunkes saverunt
Ke voz oilz de loinz verrunt,
E pur ceo vostre beneurté
Preiserunt tuz en verité,
E eschiwerunt par defense
A vostre majesté fere offense.

[p. 55[23]]

O Alisandre, sovent vus monestai,
E uncore amonest cum jeo sai,
Ke vus gardez en ta peitrine
Misericorde e doctrine,
La quele si vus bien gardez
A vostre purpos tut avendrez
E vostre regne, saciez, sanz faille
Par ceo remeindra sanz bataille,
Ceo est a dire sanz esclandre.
Esparniez sanc d'umme espandre,
Kar ceo a sul Deu apent
Ke conuit les secrez e quers de gent.

[p. 55[28]]

Pur ceo pas n'entremettez
De chescun office ke vus avez,
Kar ne vus est pas iceo donez
Ke saciez de Deu les secrez ;
[4] Pur ceo tant come vus purrez
Espandre sanc d'umme eschivez.
Kar Hermogenes, le noble doctur,
Escrit e dit tut errur
Ke quant creature a sei semblable
Creature occist, saciez sans fable
Ke les vertuz del ciel a Deu crient:
'Sire Deu, Sire Deu, en criant dient,
Vostre serf a vus k'estes mestre,
Endreit sei, semblable veut estre.'

Cil k'a tort un occis a [p. 56[2]]
Saciez k'en respundra,
Dunt Deu, le haut creatur,
Ke humeine nature est sucur,
Dit ke 'Cil ke tuera
Jeo premet ke tué serra ;

Line 946 *Many a benefit comes from a king which is displeasing to his subjects.* 950 *Of appointing a guardian of the poor.* 968 *Of stores in case of public need.* 978 *Give help in time of famine.* 988 *The people will then honour your foresight.* 988 *Be merciful,* 1007 *and beware of the shedding of blood.* 1016 *Hermogenes says that the angels cry to God for vengeance on a murderer.*

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[1] f. 182 v° b. [2] f. 183 r° a. [3] l. 988, sign omitted as in l. 115, &c. [4] f. 183 r° b.

A mei seit vengance lessee
E par mei ert vengance donee.'

[p. 56[5]]
Les vertuz du ciel presenterunt
En lur loanges k'a Deu ferunt
La mort celui ke ert tué
Jeske venjance en seit doné,
E celui ke tué l'avera
En peines d'enfern tuz jurs serra.

O Alisandre, bien sai k'avez [p. 56[12]]
De peines conoisance asez,
[1] Kar mut des mals suffert avez;
En remembrance le remenez,
E les estoires d'antiquitez
Des peres et de parenz encerchiez,
Si em purrez par cele afere
Mut esamples et fez en trere,
Ke par les choses ke passé sunt
De mutes choses k'a venir sunt
Avium certein enseignement,
Saciez le veraiement.

[p. 56[17]]
Petit home n'eiez en despit,
Kar celi k'ore est vil e petit,
Si come avenu est sovent,
A richesces e a honurs ascent
E dunc ert fort e de plus poer
A nuire les autres e grever.

Sur[2] tute rien eschivez [p. 56[20]]
Ke vostre fei donee n'enfreignez,
E covenant k'avez cunfermez
Gardez ke pas ne fausez,
Kar ceo avient as joefnes desleaus
E a puteins pur lur aveaus.

Vostre fei premise ensement [p. 56[22]]
Veez ke gardez leaument,
Kar chescune desleauté, seez certein,
Porte male fin au derein.
[3]E si d'enfreindre covenant bien aviegne
L'espece est mauveise ki ke la tienge,
Kar ensample k'est reprové
Est del gendre de maveisté.
Kar saciez bien veraiement [p. 57[1]]
Ke par fei sunt auniz gent,
E par fei sunt, en veritez,
Les citez enhabitez
Des homes de bone compaignie,
E des reis tute la seignurie,
Les chasteus sunt tenu par fei,
Les citez gardees, regne le rei;
Dunt si la fei ostez la gent meffrunt
E a lur estait premer returnerunt,
C'est a saver a la semblance
De bestes, saciez sanz dutance.

[p. 57[7]]
Pur ceo, tres leau rei, vus gardez
Ke vostre fei pas n'enfreignez,
E gardez ausi fermement
Sur tute rien vostre serment,
E si tenez voz covenanz
Tut seient il a vus grevanz.
Kar bien savez ke Hermogenes
Le tesmoine tut e a pres
Ke vus e chescun en vie
Ad dous espiriz, n'est pas folie,
[4] L'un vus est a la destre partie,
L'autre a senestre ke vus espie,
K'en garde ambedous vus unt
E sevent vos eovres, les quels musterunt
Al creatur, quanke fet averez
Ou quank'en purpos de fere avez;
Dunt mesk' autre chose ne fust,
Sul ceste chose retreir dust
Vus e autres ensement
De vileins ovres veraiement.

Ki vus aforce tant sovent [p. 57[15]]
Jurer e fere serment,
N'est pas a fere si ceo ne seit
Par grant necessité tut dreit;
Ne rei ne deit, si il ni seit sovent
Requis, fere nul serment.
Ne savez bien ke ceo pas ne apent [5]
A digneté, mes descovient,
Quant vus jurez, kar veraiement
As sugez e serfs jurer apent.

[p. 57[19]]
Si[6] vus demandissez l'encheisun
Ke fu de la destincteisun
De icel regne de Eubaiens
E del regne de Socroiens, [p. 57[21]]
Jeo vus respunderai, e tut a estrus,
Ke ceo fu, saciez le vus,

Line 1038 *Remember your own experiences,* 1041 *and those of your ancestors.* 1050 *Despise not the small man.* 1056 *Of keeping faith.* 1062 *The breaking of faith leads to evil in the end.* 1070 *Faith is the foundation of all human communities.* 1088 *Hermogenes says that man has two attendant spirits,* 1095 *who tell the Creator of his deeds.* 1102 *Of swearing lightly.*

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[1] f. 183 v° a. [2] l. 1056, sign omitted as in l. 115, &c. [3] f. 183 v° b. [4] f. 184 r° a. [5] l. 1108, apent] airent MS. [6] l. 1112, sign omitted as in l. 115, &c.

[1] Pur ceo ke lur reis veraiement
Acostumé furent jurer sovent
Par boidie a deceivre la gent
E les preceines citez ensement;
Dunt il depecerent covenaunt
Des choses establiz devant
Al profit e sauveté de gent
Ke eus enfreindrent malement
Par lur faus serment k'il useient,
Par unt lur preceins destrueient,
E pur ceo l'equité del juge dreit
Suffrir plus longement nel voleit.
[p. 57^{27}]
O Alisandre, fiz enseignez,
Jeo voil ke sachez e entendez
Ke de empire l'urdeignement
E de regne governement
Sunt documenz mut especiaus
Pleinz de granz biens e tres moraus,
K'a vus apartient a saver
Ta meisnee e le pueple governer;
Mes n'e pas liu de ceo treiter
Ici, ne vus deit grever,
Mes en cel livre la ou apent
Le saverez certeinement,
E si vus serrunt en verité
Documenz de grant saveté
[2] Enbregees e tres profitable,
Les quels si gardez, saciez sanz fable,
Serrez aforcez e plus a eise,
Si a Nostre Seignur bien pleise.

Gardez [3] ke pas ne repentez [p. 58^{4}]
Des choses ke sunt avant passez,
Kar saciez tut de veritez
Ke de fieble femmes sunt propretez.

E [4] par ta aperte vaillantie [p. 58^{5}]
Gardez tuz jurs ta curteisie,
Tuz jurs tes buntés eshaucez;
Ceo est a tun regne sauvetez
E destructiun veraiement
A voz enemis ensement.
Universitez apparaillez
E studie en citez establiez;
E en tun regne le suffrez
E a tes homes le comandez
Ke lur fiz apreignent de lettrure
E ke d'estudie preignent cure
En les arz e en morautez
Si ke seient clers esprovez.
E a vostre purveance apent
De trover lur susteinement.
Fetes dunc aucun avantage
A bien estudianz, c'est fet de sage,
[5] Ke par iceo ke a teus ferez
A tuz escolers ensample donez
E matire pur bien estudier
E bien veiller pur espleiter.
Lur requestes volentiers oiez,
Lur lettres volentiers recevez,
Loez ces ke sunt a loer,
Reguerdun ke sunt a reguerdoner;
De ceo entreerez les [6] lettrés,
E vos loer, bien le sacies,
E voz fez en escripture
Mettrunt, si ke lunge dure.
Iceste maniere est a preiser
E iceste cointise est a loer,
De ceo ert l'empire honuré,
Le regne enbeli e enluminé,
La curt e les reaus fez
En memoire plus noblement retrez.
[p. 58^{21}]
Ki [7] fu ceo ke le regne eshauça
De Grece, ke dure jeske en ça?
Ki fu ceo dunt par le mund lur fez
Pardurablement furent retrez?
Ceo fu, saciez, la diligence
D'estudianz en lur science,
E ceo fu la vaillantie
Des sages estudianz en clergie,
[8] Ki [9] sur tute rien science amerent
E pur ceo teu choses troverent
Dunt le regne fu eshaucé
Ke tuz jurs en es ça ad duré.
[p. 58^{25}]
Dunt [10] vus cunterai orendreit
D'une pucele k'a la meisun esteit
Un prudumme, ke par estudie
Tant cunquist ke par clergie
Le curs del an tut conuisseit,

Line 1118 *Bad kings swore in order to deceive their people,* 1122 *and then broke their covenants;* 1128 *hence their downfall.* 1130 *This is not the place to treat of the ordering of an empire;* 1140 *but that shall be dealt with later.* 1148 *Of regretting the past.* 1158 *Of the advancement of learning. Build universities.* 1168 *Encourage students.* 1177 *Reward scholarship.* 1180 *Then will your name live,* 1184 *and your kingdom be renowned.* 1188 *This is why Greece is still famous.* 1200 *Story of the learned maiden.*

[1] f. 184 r° b. [2] f. 184 v° a. [3] l. 1148, sign omitted as in l. 115, &c. [4] l. 1152, as in l. 115. [5] f. 184 v° b. [6] l. 1178, les] MS. les les [7] l. 1188, as in l. 115. [8] f. 185 r° a. [9] At the top of this page is written in a cursive hand 'Nota de mulleri*bus*.' [10] l. 1200, as in l. 115.

Les festes a venir ausi tut dreit,
E les luis de planetes ensement,
E l'encheisun d'enbreggement
Del jur e nuit, e del firmament
Le curs e des esteilles ensement
E de choses a venir par jugement
Ke, par art d'esteilles, saver apent.

O Alisandre, en nule guise [p. 59^{10}]
E⟨n⟩ ovre de femmes n'en lur servise
Ne vus afiez, e ausi gardez
K'a eles ne seez abandonez ;
E si covient par necessité
K'a femme seez abandoné,
A une lele dunc, ke duné vus seit,
Abandunez vus, kar ceo ert dreit.
Kar tant come femme te treite en braz
Baillez li estes en ses laz ;
[1] Gardez vus bien e seez certeins,
Kar vostre vie en est en ses mains.
[p. 59^{17}]
Eschivez,[2] eschivez venim mortel ;
Kar gent ne comencent pas de novel
Autres envenimer, mes pieça fu
Ke muz par venim furent deceu
Reis, de princes venim pieça
Avant dreit tens lur mort hasta.
[p. 59^{21}]
O Alisandre, ne vus afiez
En un sul mire ke vus tiegnez ;
Kar un mire, saciez sanz dutance,
Ad bien poer de fere nusance,
E une felunie emprendre purreit
K'a vus, pust estre, n'estuvereit.
Mes eiez dis, si ceo puet estre,
Ke seient de lur afere mestre,
E quant mester de eus averez
Devant vus seient tuz asemblez,
E si il covient ke medicine pernez
Par cunseil de plusurs le frez.

O Alisandre, le fet remenbrez [p. 60^{2}]
La reine de Inde, dunt bien savez
Kant par amisté a vus manda
Presens, e beaus duns envea,
Entre quels choses fu enveé
Cele bele pucele tant maluree,
[3] Ke d'enfance veraiement
De venim nurri fu de serpent ;
Dunt, si a cele hure n'usse esté
Ke l'usse cointement esgardé,
E par art nel usse coneu
E par esgarz aperceu,
De ceo ke hardiement esgarda
E sanz vergoine les oilz ficha
En face d'umme cont⟨in⟩uelement
En perçant e horiblement,
Dunt jeo aperceu bien par tant
K'ele tuereit home sul en mordant,
(Ke puis apres par esperement
L'eprovastes tut certeinement)
Dunt ta mort, si jeo n'usse esté,
En ardur de lecherie vus eust procuré.

O Alisandre, kar gardez [p. 60^{16}]
Vostre alme noble ke vus eez,
K'est par le poesté divine
De haute nature come angeline,
E si vus est pur ceo baillee
Ke pas ne seit deshonuree
Mes glorifié, ne ne seit mie
De condiciun de gent suillie,
Mes seit del numbre de la sage gent
A quels glorie et joie apent.

[4] Rei Alisandre le benurez, [p. 60^{21}]
Si fere en nule maniere poez,
Ne levez vus mie, ne ne seez,
Ne ne mangez mie, ne ne bevez,
Ne rien ne facez en ceste vie
Sanz cunseil d'un sage astronomie.
E seez de ceo tut certein
Ke Deu nule rien ne fist en vein
En nature, mes tut par raisun
E par reisunable encheisun ;
E par ceste vie e conoissance
Conuit, saciez sanz dutance,
Platun, nostre tresage mestre,
E enquist en nature tut l'estre
Des choses compunt des qualitez
Ke sunt contraires en ceo trovez
E des colurs, par compareison
A chose de compositiun,
Par quei aveit science trovee
De ydees e de chose furmee.
[p. 61^{2}]
As dis des nunsages ne creez mie
Ke dient ke nul astronomie
La science ne puet saver,
E ke si forte est ke nul trover
Ne puet de ceo entendement.
Ne sevent ke dient veirement,
[5] Kar rien n'est fort quant a la pussance
D'entendement, saciez sanz dutance,

Line 1212 *Of women.* 1224 *Of poison and of leeches.* 1242 *Story of the poison-maiden.* 1264 *Guard your divine soul.* 1274 *Of astronomy.* 1294 *Do not believe those who say it is beyond human understanding.*

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[1] f. 185 r° b. [2] l. 1224, as in l. 115. [3] f. 185 v° a. [4] f. 185 v° b. [5] f. 186 r° a.

Kar tutes choses k'a saver[1] sunt
Par reisun estre sues purrunt.

Autres i ad mis en sotie [p. 61[7]]
Ke ne dient pas meins de folie ;
Ke Deu tutes choses purveu aveit
Pardurablement, avant k'esteit
Le mund, e avait avant ordiné,
Ke quanke avient est necessité
E est ordiné issi del festre
Ke pur rien ne purreit autrement estre;
Pur ceo dient ke ne puet valeir
Chose k'est a venir de saveir.
Ices errerent malement
E forveerent apertement,
Kar, mesk' aucune chose aviegne
Ke a venir issi le coviegne, [p. 61[12]]
Mieuz serra suffert par itant
Si l'en[2] seit la chose devant,
E mieuz eschivre le peot en
E decliner par aucun sen ;
Kar chose k'est coneu e parveue
Serra plus sagement receue,
E si aucune moleste i a
Sanz trop damage passera.
[3] Kar d'ivern ore pernez cure,
Kant om seit k'avendra grant freidure
La gent devant mieuz se purverrunt
De dras, de busche, dunt mester unt,
E pur ceo quant yvern vendra
Pas trop ne lur grevera.
E pur la chaline ausi d'esté,
Par freide viandes k'unt purchacé
E par freit especes eschaperunt
Les fervurs k'en esté serrunt.
Ausi ki avant saverunt
Les anz de feim ki avendrunt
De blez e d'estor se purverrunt
Ke nule moleste de ceo n'averunt.

[p. 61[27]]
Pur ceo est bien saver avant
Choses, ke gent par itant
De lur mals garni en fussent
Ke de plus leger eschaper pussent.
E quant la gent conuisterunt
Les choses k'a venir serrunt,
Nostre Seignur prierunt par itant
Ke par sa puissance seit en aidant
Ke autre i mette ordeinement
Ke del mal a venir les defent.

[p. 61[31]]
Kar saciez ceo en bone fei
Ke Deu ne fist rien cuntre sei
[4] Kant fet tels choses a gent mustrer,
Kar il le purrunt pur ceo preer,
E en jeunes e en devotiun
E en aumones e en oreisun
De lur pecchiez aver pardun
E de lur trespas remissiun ;
Si musterunt bien par tant
K'il duterunt Deu le tut puissant.

[p. 64[5]]
Mes saciez, sire, ke ne voil mie
Ore treiter de astronomie,
Mes apres, quant a ceo vendrai,
En cest livreçon treiterai ;
Mes ore primes au comencement
De medicine averez le document
E une manere de privetez
Ke vus suffiserunt asez
A vostre cors garder en santé,
E si est, saciez de verité,
La meillure e preciuse doctrine
Ke seit en tute medicine,
E d'autre part devez saver
Ke mult vaut al mund governer.

Sire, ceo devez primes saver [p. 64[10]]
Ke n'est veie a fere ne a purchacer
Rien en siecle ke seit en terre
Si par poer nel pussez fere ;
[5] E saciez ke nul n'ad poesté
Si ceo ne seit par sa santé,
E sancté n'avera ja nul hum
Sanz oelté de complexiun,
Ne oelté n'est pas, sanz dutance,
De complexiun sanz temperance.
Mes Deus de gloire ordina la manere
A temperance aver entiere,
De humurs remedie e conservance
A santé aver sanz grevance,
E plusurs autres choses ensement
Les quels as prophetes e a seinte gent
E as autres ke esleu aveit
Priveement Deu demustreit,
Les quels ellumina en science
Par l'espirit de divine sapience.
Surse de science lur duneit
Des quels les philosophes unt estreit

Line 1304 *Of foreknowledge.* 1318 *A foreseen evil is better borne.* 1326 *For instance, one can prepare for great cold,* 1332 *or heat,* 1336 *or scarcity.* 1350 *One can pray and fast also.* 1360 *But astronomy also will be treated of later.* 1364 *Now medicine shall be spoken of.* 1374 *Of the importance of health.* 1383 *Temperance is essential.* 1391 *God showed his secrets to the old philosophers.*

[1] l. 1302, saver] MS. savez. [2] l. 1319, l'en] MS. les. [3] f. 186 r° b. [4] f. 186 v° a. [5] f. 186 v° b.

Lur philosophie pleinement ;
Kar de eus aveient comencement
Les Latins e les Indiens,
Les Grius e les Parsiens,
De ces lur science espucherent,
Lur princes de art par eus troverent
E secrez k'en lur escriz mistrent,
Dunt bien piert ke de eus le pristrent,
[1] Kar en lur escriz rien n'est trové
Ke ne seit reisun esprové,
Dunt des sages sunt receu,
Escrit e oi e esleu.
[p. 64[25]]
Ki a sei meimes est encheisun
De mal e de perdicion
Il serra plus legierement
Encheisun de perte de autre gent.
[p. 64[26]]
Pur ceo elisum ceo ke nus amums
E queruns ceo ke nus entendums ;
Mes nepurquant devez saver
Ke Deu le haut k'est rei sanz per
Entre tuz les philosophes k'el mund a
Les Grius sur tuz ellumina
A science enquere sanz dutance
E de nature aver conuissance.
De ceo vus ai jeo dit autre fez,
Dunt sulum eus ore fra cest treitez.

Les sages s'acordent trestuz, [p. 65[5]]
Les natureus philosophes e pruz,
Ke home est fet de quatre element
Contraries e d'umurs ensement,
Ke tuz jurs de beivre e manger
A sustenance unt mester,
Sanz les quels home verraiement
Corrumpu serreit utrement.
[2] E ki trop poy em prent e plus d'asez
Fieble⟨sce⟩ engendre e enfermetez,
E mult d'autre mals ja vienent
K'entempreement pas ne se tienent ;
Mes ki manjue e beit od temperance
A sa vie trovera bone aidance,
Si en avera force de cors
E santé partut dedenz e dehors.
[p. 65[12]]
Issi s'acordent trestut li sage
E dient tut par un corage
Ki ke ceo seit k'issi le face
Ke utre due mesure trespasse
En trop ou trop poi beyvre ou manger,
Trop ou tropoy dormir ou veiller,
Trop ou tropoi reposer ou mover,
Trop ou tropoy le ventre voider,
En trop ou tropoy sanc lesser,
Ki si le fet ne puet eschaper
Les enuiz e les reveries
D'enfermetez e de maladies ;
Des quels brievement treiterai
E certeine doctrine vus en dirrai
De diverses maladies issi
E de lur remedies autresi.
[p. 65[21]]
Les [3] sages trestuz si acordeient
Ki de trop ou tropoi se gardeient,
[4] Uelté e temperance avereient,
E lunge vie e santé receveraient,
[p. 65[26]]
Ki desire dunc vivre e durer [5]
Estudie dunc de purchacer
Choses ke durablement covienent
E ke la vie gardent e tienent,
E lesser covient en verité
Le desir de ta propre volenté,
E garde qu'il n'ajuste mie
Mangerie sur mangerie.

Jeo oi dire de Ypocras [p. 66[4]]
Ke dietes garda, n'es pas gas,
Par les quels meymes fiebles devint
E les fieblesces de cors sustint ; [6]
Dunt un sun desciple li diseit :
'Noble mestre, fet cil, s'il vus plerreit
Ke bien buissiez e mangissiez
Tant fieblesce de cors n'averiez.'
Ypocras dunkes li responeit
En teu manere, si li diseit :
'Pur ceo manguz ke vivre pusse,
Ne vif pas pur ceo ke mangusse ;'
Kar norrissement est pur durance,
Ne mie la reverse [7] sanz dutance,
Kar durance n'est pas veraiement
Pur aver le nurissement.
[8] Kar mut ai coneu tant come vesquirent
Ke de trop mangier se detenirent [9]
E lur apetiz desporterent

Line 1408 *He who is the cause of evil to himself will be a source of danger to others.* 1415 *God illuminated the Greeks beyond all others.* 1422 *Of temperance.* 1438 *All the sages agree that the secret of health is temperance* 1442 *in eating and drinking,* 1443 *sleeping,* 1444 *resting,* 1445 *purging,* 1446 *and letting blood.* 1466 *Hippocrates said, 'I eat to live, not live to eat.'* 1482 *Abstemious men are more vigorous and of longer life.*

[1] f. 187 r° a. [2] f. 187 r° b. [3] l. 1454, paragraph sign omitted. [4] f 187 v° a. [5] l. 1458, vivre e durer] MS. vivre duter. [6] l. 1469, sustint] MS. sustient. [7] l. 1479, reverse] MS. reverence. [8] f. 187 v° b. [9] l. 1483, se detenirent] MS. le detenirent.

E glotonie pas ne hanterent
E par dietes vesquirent en temperance,
Ke crestiens furent sanz nusance
E mieuz poeient overer
E en vie plus legierement durer
E de bon appetit ensement
E plus legiers de muvement.
C'est en Arabiens aparant,
E par desert ke sunt alant,
E lunges chemins ensement ;
Par unt est apert argument
Ke abstinence de trop manger,
E de superfluité purger,
Est la medicine soveraine
Pur aver dreite sancté plaine.

[p. 66[22]]

O Alisandre, en medicine verement
Est contenu certein document
Ke la conservance est de santé
Principaument en dous choses trové.
La permereine est k' omme use sanz fable
Mangiers a sun age covenable,
E del tens ausi preigne cure,
E a la costume de sa nature ;
[1]K'il use viandes, c'est a saver,
E beivres ke soleit hanter
Dunt aveit norrissement
E de substance conferment.

La seconde est ke seit purgé [p. 66[28]]
De superfluité engendré
De males humurs e corumpues
E ⟨ke⟩ de surfet sunt avenues.

Humeine cors devez saver, [p. 66[30]]
K'est vessel de beivre e mangier,
Enmenusez est e remenez
En la matire, bien le saciez,
E princes dunt primes fu
Come d'elemenz engendré e conceu,
Par chaline ke l'umur ensecchist
La quele le cors pest e norrist;
Mes resouz est e remenez
As princes dunt estoit nez
De vent e de solail par la chalur,
K'ensecchissent trestut l'umur.

[p. 67[8]]

Quant cors, dunc, est de teu nature
Ke mut d'umurs passent par overture,
Grosse viande vaut a teu cors
Pus ke mult est k'en est mis hors
De quantité e de grosse substance,
De chalur pur trop habundance,
[2]E de humurs ke del cors estreit sunt
Ke par overtures tut s'en vunt.

[p. 67[12]]

Mes quant le cors est sec e lié
Sutive viandes en verité
E muistes li valent veraiement,
Kar ceo k'en ist certeinement
De poi de quantité serra
Pur les overtures ke estrei a.

[p. 67[15]]

Pur ceo est certein document
A santé garder pleinement
Ke hume en sa santé use manger
K'a sa qualité pusse acorder.
C'est a saver, pernez ent cure,
A home k'est de chaude nature
Chaudes viandes valent veirement,
Mes ke chaud seient entempreement ;
Mes a home k'est de freide nature
Freides viandes valent en temprure ;
A home moist ou sec norissement
Entendez la manere ensement.

[p. 67[20]]

Mes si home chaud ⟨est⟩ utre mesure
Quant chaline grieve la nature
K'eit par chauz mangiers receu
Ou par autre chaline k'est avenu,
Dunc li poent mangers valer
Contraires e freides a user.
[3]E quant l'estomac chaud e bon serra
E fort, a tiel mieuz, saciez, vaudra
Grosses viandes a mangier,
Kar tel estomac, devez saver,
Est come bon feu e pussant
Ke grosse busche gaste en ardant.

[p. 67[28]]

Mes quant l'estomac veirement
Est freit e fiebles ensement,
A tel estomac mieuz vaut mangers
Ke sutil seient e legiers,
Kar le feu resemble, par reisun,
Ke estuble art e sekeillun.

[p. 67[33]]

Les signes de bon estomac, saciez,
Sunt d'aver de cors legiertez
E d'aver cler entendement
E appetit ausi de movement.

Line 1500 *Of the two safeguards to health.* 1504 *Suitable diet:* 1512 *Purging of humours.* 1528 *Strong meats for hot bodies.* 1536 *Delicate meats for dry bodies.* 1542 *Use foods of a like nature to your own temper,* 1554 *unless you have an excess of heat or cold.* 1560 *A good digestion is like a hot fire,* 1566 *and a weak digestion is like a feeble fire.* 1572 *Of the signs of a good digestion.*

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[1] f. 188 r° a. [2] f. 188 r° b. [3] f. 188 v° a.

Les signes de mal estomac en sun
E de fieble digestiun
Sunt pesantume de cors e molesce,
Enflure de face e peresce,
E baaler de buche sovent,
E pesantume des oilz ensement,
Led e mauveis bretimer [1]
Kant ceo bretime est amer
Ou evus ou egre ou purlent [2]
Ou ke savoure malement.

[3] E pur iceo sunt engendrez [p. 68[6]]
Enfleure en ventre e ventositez,
E si en ert amenusez
Appetit de mangier, saciez.
E si la chose est en quantité grant
Saciez ke de ceo demeintenant
Les piez e mains se estendent,
Les membres resortissant rendent,
E le cors en rent tut tremblant
E suvent la buche en baalant,
E autre mals k'en vienent asez
K'a santé sunt cuntrarietez
E sunt al cors destructiun
E a la nature corruptiun ;
Pur ceo vus devez veirement
De teus mals garder cointement.
[p. 68[17]]
Pus ke dunkes cors corruptible est,
(E la corruption, saciez se nest
De contrariete de complexiun
E d'umurs contraries ausi, en sun,
K'en cors sunt) vos escriz ore sanz fable
Choses k'a ceo sunt profitable
E necessaries, e les secrez
Ke sunt en art de medicine trovez,
Dunt tut seurement en pussez
Sanz deserte bien estre paez.
[4] E pur ceo ke hunte sereit a mire
Tutes maladies apertement dire,
Si vus ceste chose bien regardez,
E sulum l'ordre precius vus gardez,
Tut pleinement devez saver
Ke de mire n'aveiez ja mester,
Estre ceo k'avienent par cas
Ke l'em ne puet bien eschivre pas.
[p. 68[28]]
O Alisandre, ceo covient ke sacez
Ke quant de dormir vus levez
K'ailez un petit entempreement
A estendre voz menbres oelment,
E si devez vostre chief pinnier ;
Kar [5] les membres aforce l'adrescer,
E le pierner les humurs, bien le sachez,
Estreit hors ke sunt muntez
E la teste del estomac dreit
Quant tens de dormir esteit.
[p. 69[2]]
En esté vus fetes laver
D'eue freide, devez saver,
Kar ceo destreint e la chaline
Remue del chief par teu covine,
E si durra veirement
Talent de mangier ensement.

Puis apres bien vus vestez [p. 69[6]]
De noble vesture e aurnez ;
[6] Kar vostre corage en verité
Se delitera en beauté,
E la vertu de vie par delit
Serra recumforté sanz respit,
E le quor overt rendra
Dunt leez e heité tut serra.

Pus apres si froterez [p. 69[10]]
Vos denz e gengives asez
Od les escorces tut entur
D'arbre chaud, sec, amer de savur,
Kar iceo lez denz ennettit
E vice de buche tut ennientit,
La lange bien parlante rent
E la parole clere ensement ;
Ensurketut devez saver
Ke dune talent de manger.

Puis apres devez user [p. 69[15]]
Sulum le tens vus estover,
Kar profite a grant mesure ;
Del cervel oevre la closture,
Les cols plus gros par ceo rent,
E les braz plus gras ensement,
La face e la veue esclarsist,
Le sen ausi en aforsist,
E entardir fet ensement
Chanuesce, saciez veirement.

Line 1576 *Of weak digestion.* 1602 *Of the means of keeping well without aid of a doctor.* 1620 *Of rising from sleep.* 1622 *Take gentle exercise.* 1624 *Comb your hair.* 1630 *Bathe in cold water.* 1636 *Dress yourself in beautiful raiment.* 1644 *Brush your teeth.* 1654 *Take a hot bath.*

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[1] l. 1582, bretimer] MS. bretuner, with an *i* mark over the first stroke of the *u*. [2] l. 1584, purlent] MS. has an *i* mark over the first stroke of the *u*, and the word might better be read 'pirdent' or 'pirclent'. [3] f. 188 v° b. [4] f. 189 r° a. [5] l 1625, Kar] MS. Kai. [6] f. 189 r° b.

[1] Pus les meillurs ke troveiez [p. 69^{22}]
Uignemenz de bon odur hantez
K'acordent al tens nomeement
Sulum ceo k'a la seisun apent,
Kar l'alme ne serreit pas refet
For del odur k'en est estreit,
Kar bon odur veraiement
Est al alme norissement;
E quant l'alme serra refet
E afermee e mis en het
Le cors tut en reforcera
E le queor s'en joissera
E le sanc es veines cura
Pur la leesce ke l'alme a.

Si prendrez letuaires apres [p. 69^{29}]
K'est nomé 'lignis aloes'
K'est en livres de meseines escrit
Coment e de ki est cumfit.
[p. 70^{2}]
E reaubarbre pernez ensement,
Le peis de quatre deniers d'argent,
Kar c'est une chose mult profitable,
Kar fleume sustreit, saciez sanz fable,
De buche del estomac tut hors,
Si engendre chaline el cors
E enchace ventosité
E bone savur rent en verité.
[p. 70^{6}]
[2] Pus od les nobles vus seez
E oveskes les sages parlez
Sulum costume des reis e noble gent
E parlez e fetes ceo ki apent.

Pus apres, kant hure serra [p. 71^{4}]
De manger quant il vus plerra,
Travaillez vus un poi avant
En chevachant ou en alant
Ou aucun autre chose fesant,
Kar ceo est mut al cors aidant,
Kar ceo enchace ventositez,
Le cors adrescé e aforcez
En est e aleggé ensement,
E al estomac chaline rent,
E les junctures lie, e ennientit
Les humurs nusantes e tut defit,
E fleume sur l'estomac fet ausi
Descendre k'est trop chaud e ensechi.

Quant asis estes au manger [p. 71^{13}]
Fetes mut des viandes porter
E mangiez ent a tun pleisir
E ceo dunt averez desir,
Od pein ke oelement seit levé
Ke seit parfitement fermenté.
E mangiez dunc premierement
Ceo ke primes manger apent,
[3] C'est a saver, si humme prent
Legiere viande premierement
E mole, ke l'estomac mol rent,
E la plus dure mangue derenement,
Kant la mole vient devant
Plus tost en ert defit par tant,
Mes la dure viande, ki pus receu a,
Plus lung en l'estomac demurra;
Mes si la dure devant mangue
E la mole e legiere est pus receue
Del un e del autre par raisun
Ert bone la digestiun.
Ausi saciez si home prent
Plusurs viandes ensemblement
Ke moles e legiers sunt
E de legier defierunt,
Dunc covient k'avant manger viegne
Al funt del estomac ke bien retiegne,
Kar del estomac la parfundesce
Plus chaud est [4] e plus ad molesce,
De ceo k'en cele partie junt
Charnuse parties ke i sunt,
E si est a la fie de pres veisine [5]
Ke viande defit par sa chaline.
[p. 72^{5}]
E bien saciez k'a tun manger
De manger devez desporter
[6] Endementiers uncore ke volentez
E desir de mangier avez,
Kar par sa superfluité
L'estomac est mut anguissé,
E si en ert le cors grevé
E le corage mut blescé,
E la viande remeint pesant
Al fund del estomac e nusant.
[p. 72^{11}]
Ensemblement vus retenez
Ke ewe apres manger ne bevez,
Jeske aviegne ke vus seez
De ceo fere acostumez,
Kar beivre freit eue, ki ke ceo seit,
Sur manger rent l'estomac freit
E la chaline esteint ensement

Line 1664 *Anoint yourself with sweet-smelling ointments.* 1678 *Then take an electuary of aloes* 1682 *and rhubarb.* 1694 *Of eating.* 1696 *Take exercise before eating.* 1708 *Eat bread with meat.* 1714 *Eat first the solider foods,* 1725 *and then the lighter.* 1740 *Rise from the table with an appetite.* 1750 *Do not drink water after eating,*

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[1] f. 189 v° a [2] f. 189 v° b. [3] f. 190 r° a. [4] l. 1735, MS. *Ke* pus chaud est. [5] l. 1738, veisine] MS. neisine. [6] f. 190 r° b.

E la viande confuse rent
E engendre desturbement
Si mut en est beu veirement,
Kar saciez, ki ke mut en beit,
Rien n'est k'al cors pëur seit.

Mes si par bosoin seit beue [p. 72[16]]
Par chaline del estomac eue,
Ou si chaline pur ceo avez
Pur chaude viandes k'avez mangez,
Seit dunc ceo k'enbevez ent
Ne mie trop mes entempreement.

[1] E apres, quant refet serrez, [p. 73[3]]
Aucune chose pus alez,
E pus en mol lit vus cochez
E entempreement dormez ;
E un hure, si ceo puet estre,
Reposerez sur la coste destre,
E pus au senestre returnez
E sur le senestre donke dormez,
Kar le senestre costé est freit
Dunt chaline l'abusoignereit.
[p. 73[9]]
Si aucune grevance dunc sentez
Ou k'en l'estomac ou ventre avez,
Fetes une chemise eschaufer
E ferm sur vostre ventre poser.
[p. 73[15]]
E si vus avez eructaciun [2]
Egre, ceo est par l'encheisun
E signe ke l'estomac avez
Freit, saciez de veritez.
La mescine de ceo ke devez receivre
Est ke devez chaude eue beivre
Od cirup acetus, e geter;
Ceo vus deit mut al cors valer,
Kar la livre e corruptiun
De mangier el ventre destructiun
Est al cors tut pleinement,
Si par remedie n'eit desturbement.
[p. 73[21]]
[3] Devant mangier le muevement
Chaline al estomac rent,
Mes apres manger saciez tant
Ke c'est al estomac nusant,
Kar dunc desquit le manger descent
Al funt del estomac veirement ;
E de ceo vienent estupemenz
E autre maus engendré dedenz.
Dormir devant manger suvent [p. 74[1]]
Saciez ke le cors megre rent
E atreit l'umidité,
Dunt est ensechi en verité ;
Mes apres manger dormir nurit,
Refet e emple e aforcit.
Kar tant come home dort en recelee
La chaline naturele desparpilee
Par tut le cors est espandue,
En l'estomac dunt est descendue,
Dunt l'estomac est conforté
Par la chaline e aforcé,
Dunt le manger receu bien en est quit,
E par la decoctiun ert bien desfit ;
E aidunc la vertu reisunable
Quert sun repos, n'est mie fable.
Dunt aucun des philosophes diseit
Ke mangier al vespre plus vaudreit
[4] K'a midi mangier, ou la entur ;
Kar midi la chaline a del jur,
E de jur ovrent lessens
E l'alme travaille dedenz,
Kar hume dunkes e veit e ot
E pense e de reisun parot [5]
E plusurs choses fet ke avienent dehors,
Dunt mut en est travailé le cors,
Par unt en hure de midi s'estent
La chaline naturele utreement
E ist par les parties dehors
Par tutes les overtures del cors,
E pur ceo est mut enfiebli
L'estomac, saciez le de fi,
E si est dunkes de nunpoeir
La viande defire,[6] saciez de veir.
[p. 74[17]]
Mes[7] quant l'en mangue veraiement
Au vespre, est tut autrement,
Kar dunc ert sanz travail le cors
E les sens se reposent dehors
E la freidure de nuit dunc vient

Line 1762 *unless it be necessary from excess of heat, and then drink only in great moderation.* 1768 *Of sleeping.* 1769 *Take a little gentle exercise,* 1770 *then sleep in a soft bed.* 1772 *Lie an hour on the right side,* 1774 *then turn on to the left side.* 1778 *If you feel pain, apply heat to the stomach,* 1786 *or drink vinegar and hot water.* 1794 *Much exercise before eating is good,* 1796 *but after eating is harmful.* 1802 *Sleeping before a meal makes a man thin,* 1806 *but after a meal it is health-giving.* 1818 *Of the times for eating.* 1821 *The body has too much other work to do at midday.* 1836 *It is therefore better to eat in the evening.*

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[1] f. 190 v° a. [2] l. 1782, MS. adds .i. (*id est*) bretuns. [3] f. 190 v° b. [4] f. 191 r° a. [5] l. 1825, parot] MS. parout. [6] l. 1835, defire] MS. desire. [7] l. 1836, paragrap -sign omitted.

E les overtures del cors emprient
E en l'estomac la chaline quit,
Dunc la viande en est enduit.
[p. 75^{4}]
Ensurketut saver devez
Ki ke mangier acostumez
[1] E⟨st⟩ dous fiez le jur, sanz dutance
Si se retient en aura nusance;
Ausi ki ke est acostumier
Une fiez le jur sulement mangier
E pus s'il mangue dous fiez
Ceo li nurra, bien le saciez,
Kar [2] sun estomac pur le trespas
La viande defire ne puet pas.
Ausi avient del hore changer
Quant soleit a costume manger,
Kar tost apres bien le savera
K'a sa nature grevera,
Kar de ceo deit em prendre cure
Ke costume est l autre nature.
[p. 75^{14}]
Mes s'il avient par necessité
Ke la costume seit changié,
I covient ke fet seit sagement
Ke ceo ne seit pas subitement,
Mes petit e petit covient changer,
Une feiz apres autre manger
Petit e petit come afiert,
E par l'aide Deu issi bien ert.
[*Secretum Secretorum ends here*]
[p. 75^{18}]
La santé bien garder pleinement
Est en quité e movement,
E en beivre e en mangier, saciez,
E en voider superfluetez.
[3] E si est ausi, sanz dutance,
En mesure e en observance.
Le liu e meisun ou meindre deit
Net e tempré par tut seit,
A maus ke pust a venir rester.
Avant ke l'en receive a manger
Les pensees de beste oster,
E les costumes bien garder.
Ki ke veut sa santé garder
Devant mangier estuit travailler.

En chescun travail k'ome seut hanter
Utre poer ne deit travailler.
Seit ore ke seez acostumer
Chescun jur aucune part aler;
Si garde ke ne travaille tant
Ke se sente grevé part tant.
Mes quant il se sent rien alasser
Si deit demeintenant reposer
Avant qu'il se sente grevé
Par l'aler, ou trop alassé.

Travail devant manger soleit
Naturele chaline acrestre dreit
A celui ke travaille, bien se sent
Ki chaline amunte veraiement,
E le cors de ceo force e grossur
Purchace e prent a chief de tur.

[4] Mes sur tute rien fet a garder
Ki grevus travail veut hanter
Ordre covient en ceo garder;
Ne deit pas subitement muver
Del repos ke ad eu devant
A pesant travail e grevant.
E si le travail grief e grant seit
Sun ventre d'un cengle constreindre deit;
E apres mangier se chastie
Ke forement ne se mueve mie,
E del tut a eschivre est ensement
Muver sei dunkes lungement,
Kar si come mover [5] devant manger
Fet bien a santé garder,
Ausi le meovement apres
Engendre de maladie fes.

Apres manger covient veirement
K'ome se desporte tant lungement
De dormir jeske descendu seit
De la buche del estomac dreit
Le manger, e amenusé l'enflure
E la grevance, ke ne pusse nure
Issi k'uncore seit sentu
Ke le manger est descendu;
E saciez bien si vus targiez,
E un petittet apres alez,
[6] A descendre la viande mut aidera,
E profit apres e⟨n⟩ avendra.

D'autre part bien vus gardez
Ke trop suvent ne vus voutrez
Del un jeske autre costez,

Line 1844 *It is bad to change the hour or number of your meals.* 1860 *But if it is necessary, let the change be gradual.* 1874 *Let your dwelling be clean and airy* 1880 *Of exercise.* 1883 *Do not let your exercise be too violent.* 1892 *It is good before food* 1906 *It is bad after food.* 1914 *Of sleeping again.* 1915 *Do not sleep* directly *after a meal.* 1926 *Do not toss and turn in bed.*

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[1] f. 191 r° b. [2] l. 1852, Kar] MS. Par. [3] f. 191 v° a. [4] f. 191 v° b.
[5] l. 1910, mover] MS. uouer. [6] f. 192 r° a.

Kar la digestiun purluignez,
E emfleure ensiut veirement
E runge, saciez, ensement.

E saciez bien ke mut vaut
Aver un oriller bien haut,
E nomeement si le manger ne seit
Descendu en l'estomac dreit.

Saciez ke de dormir est le profit
Ke travail de l'alme tout sanz respit,
E plus sutive veraiement
De pensers e reisun la rent,
Ke einz fu boisteuse e come chargee
En aquzié est e sutillee,
Ke travail del cors ensuagist,
E la digestiun mieuz nurist,
E le cors ausi veraiement
Engressist, e plus legier rent.

Mes mut dormir, seez certein,
Ke le cors dewaste e rent vein
E le fet a desmesure tendre
E trop de fleume en li engendre,
[1] E si [2] refreidist nomeement
Le cors gros e gras ensement.

Mes mut veiller enseur seez
Ke la chaline enoite en veritez,
E led l'omme e megre rent,
E ensecchit le cors ensement,
E colre russe engendre ausi,
E nomeement le cors enmegri.

Adecertes si covient dreit
Ke l'alme de veiller aforcïe ne seit
Quant se sent come deswarokee
E en pensantume trovee,
Ne a dormir ne deit estre aforcée[3]
Quant sitille e ague est truvee,
Quant legier est le movement
E les seus forz ensement.

Quant la pesàntume est passez
Desuz del manger avant mangez,
E del ventre la souveraine partie
Est sanz reddur tut esmolie,
E aucun travail seit fet avant,
Dunc fet a manger demeintenant,
E tant mieux, sacez veirement,
Si od tut vus vient a talent.

Estre ceo, pas ne lessez,
Quant talent vus prent, ke ne mangez,
[4] Si le talent deceivant ne seit
Come en gent yvres estre soleit;
Mes pus k'omme yvre pas ne seit
Ne gros n'est le manger k'avant mangeit
E talent li prent, tut sans demore
Manger deit tantost maimes l'ore.
E si le manger seit tant delaé
Ke le talent de manger seit passé,
Cyrub acetus dunke receive
E od eue chaude le beive,
E pus apres si se detiegne
De manger jeske apetit li viegne
Ou jeske assellatiun fet eit
Par unt le talent engendré seit,
E quant ices choses fet avez
Dunc est hure ke vus mangez.

E mut est a eschivre, ceo sachez,
Ke vus ja itant ne mangez
Ke l'estomac tant empli seit
Ke seit grevé ou trop estreit,
Kar saciez, quant issi avient,
Del eir k'atreit anguisse vient.
Dunt si a la fez si avenu seit
Avant ke le manger descendu seit,
Si deit par vomite geter
Ke de ceo se pusse deliverer;
[5] E s'il ne puet mie a dreit vomir
Travaille un poi e voit dormir,
E chose ke le ventre soluble rent
Dunc est a prendre veraiement,
E del manger ke manger soleit
Le jur apres meins prendre deit.

E si est a saver sur tute rien
Ke chescun garde en pregne bien
Ke les mangers ke manger soleit
Chescun mangusse en sun dreit,
E si mangusse aussi suvent
Come soleit fere ensement,
Si la costume male ne seit[6]
K'eschivre fet en chescun endreit,

Line 1932 *Have a high pillow.* 1936 *Sleep drives away care and sharpens the wits.* 1946 *Too much sleep enfeebles the body.* 1952 *Too little sleep makes it thin.* 1958 *Do not force yourself either to wake or sleep, against nature.* 1966 *Of eating again.* 1974 *Eat when you feel a desire to do so.* 1982 *If eating be delayed till the appetite is gone, drink hot water and vinegar.* 1992 *Never eat too much.* 2008 *Follow your custom in the nature of your diet,* 2014 *unless the custom be a harmful one.*

[1] f. 192 r° b. [2] l. 1950, si] MS. li. [3] l. 1962, aforcée] MS. aforce. [4] f. 192 v° a. [5] f. 192 v° b. [6] l. 2014, seit] MS. soit.

La quele petit e petit lesser deit
Jeske a la bone viegne tut dreit.

E saciez ke l'ordre de manger
Fet a sein home a garder.
Au mein ke mangusse une feiz le jur,
Ne serra grevance ne trop labur;
Vaut plus dous fiez, entempreement;
En dous jurz treiz fiez solement.

A home megre le jur, sanz dutance,
Sul une fiez manger est nuissance;
Mes dous fiez le jur manger itant
A gros home e gras est nuisant;
[1] Mes a gent ke travaillent mult e sovent
Mester unt de gros nurissement,
E a ces ke travaillent poi ou nient
Leger nurissement covient.
Dunt a quere sunt viandes, sanz fable,
K'a chescun .i. costume est profitable.

Il sout avenir mut sovent
Ke de male viande nurissement
A aucun esteit profitable,
E bones viandes a aucun nusable;
Dunt la costume covient sivre
Ke profite, e l'autre eschivre.
Dunt, sil i a aucun nurissement
Ke bien fait a aucun, dunt a talent,
Mes ke pas bone chose ne seit,
Sun appetit paer en deit
Si trop mauveis ne seit le manger
(Kar teu viande fet a lesser).
Mes nepurquant l'en ne deit pas user
Tut jurs mal nurissement manger,
E ki ke le fet devez saver
Ke medicines covient sovent user
Ke les humurs males, de ceo engendrez,
Par destemprure seient en getez;
E apres l'ore ke mangé a
Teu viande si mangera
[2] Ou beivre aucune chose deit
Ke meins mal face, k'en tempré seit
Ausi come apres le dirrum
E, si Deu plest, enseignerum.

Sacez ke de male degestiun
Corumpue est l'encheisun
Ke l'en en un sul manger prent
Diverse viandes ensemblement,
E la grant demuere ensement
Entre la fin e le comencement.

Estre ceo, en yver quant fet freit
Covient ke viande chaude seit,
E en esté devez user
Viande freide a tun manger.
Ne viande ke tantost vient del fiu
Si chaud ne deit pas estre receu;
Ne viande ke seit come neif freit
Nul manger ne user ne deit,
Kar viande k'ad freidure tant
Nul ne deit user, for adunke quant
Est le tens de chaliene grant
Quant le cors ert come feu ardant.

E si devez ausi saver
K'en hure freide fet dreit manger;
E si hore freide aver ne poez
Freide mansuins suveaus eez.

[3] E si deit en tel hore manger
Ke l'en pusse apres dormir e repose.

Le fruit ke l'en manger deit
Avant autre mangiers mangié seit,
Si ceo ne seit teu manere de fruit
Ke lunge en l'estomac gist descenduit,
Come est fruit acetus e pomuant,
Come pome gernette e autre freidant;
Mes ki k'un poi ent prendre veut
Par medicine bien fere le puet.
Mes mieuz vaut a santé garder
Tuz fruiz freis del tut lesser,
Ou si l'en rien en manger deit
Ke de petite quantité seit;
Des quels ki ke mut en eit mangez
Par mescine apres en seit purgez,
E travail ausi e exercice [4]
Sucur en est de oster malice.

E si fet mut a desporter
Les fruiz ke freiz sunt a manger
For quant avez travaillé le jur
E ke sentez en l'estomac ardur.
Les fruiz freiz dunt parog cest hure [5]
Sunt figes e grapes e peire e mure.
E pus apres quant est mangié
Le fruit k'ai ore avant nomé,
[6] Aucune piece covint ke atiegne

Line 2018 *Of the number of meals.* 2034 *One man's meat is another man's poison.* 2058 *It is bad to eat many different things at one meal.* 2064 *Eat warm food in winter and cold in summer,* 2068 *but never eat meat hot from the fire,* 2071 *and never ice-cold food,* 2073 *except in time of great heat.* 2076 *Eat in the cool of the day.* 2082 *Of the eating of fruit.*

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[1] f. 193 r° a. [2] f. 193 r° b. [3] f. 193 v° a. [4] l. 2096, exercice] MS. exercite. [5] l. 2102, hure] MS. hore. [6] f. 193 v° b.

Avant ceo k'autre viande preigne.

E de engroture, saciez le bien,
Deit eschivre sur tute rien ;
E s'il avint a aucun k'engroté seit
Icel jur plus manger ne deit,
E le jur ensivant deit manger
Petit, e chose ke seit legier.
Mes si mut des jurs continuelment
Seit engruté veirement
Medicine dunc prendre deit,
Mes ke trop destemprant ne seit,
Sulum ceo k'est en art livré
De mescine, e mestres unt enseigné.
Une manere i ad de gent
As quels saciez verement
Ke grosse viande en tute manere
Mut mieuz lur vaut ke la legiere ;
Dunt l'en deit bailer a teu gent
Viande k'a lur estomac apent
E a ces ke l'estomac contrarie unt,
Viande contraries receverunt.

En governement de beivre saciez
Ke ceste reule tenir devez
Ke eue jun pas ne bevez
Jeske tant ke vus eez mangez
[1] E jeske les parties del ventre amunt
Aukes alegié apres serrunt ;
Mes nepurquant si vus en bevez
Pur seif estancher ke vus avez
Un petitet adunc en bevez
Mes ne mie ke seez ensartiez.
Mes pus ke les parties del ventre amunt,
Come dis avant, alegié serrunt,
E [2] la viande descendue seit,
Dunt fet a beivre a bon espleit
Ou de eue ou de vin asez
Jeske om seit bien asartiez.

Mes a eschivre fet sur tute rien
D'eue de neif beivre rien.
Ne al manger ne bevez mie
For eue ke seit bien refreidie ;
E beivre de freit eue un petit
Saciez bien k'asez suffit.

De eue de neif fet a garder
De beivre a ces, deves saver,
Ke les nerfs e digestiun fieble unt,
E as quels l'estomac e feie freiz sunt,
E as quels sunt les esperiz,
Come pres degastez, trop sutiz ;
Mes home charnus, ke mut sanc a,
E la colur vermaille avera,
[3] E avera bien fort le talent,
Beive cist eue hardiement.
Mes nul juvene home beivre ne deit
Eue, si tres grant ardur n'eit,
Ou ke surpris seit de yveresce,
Ke seif le mette en trop destresce.
Ensurketut eschivre deit chescun
De beivre mut eue quant serra jun,
E apres bain, e apres travail tant
Ke passe force e seit nuisant ;
Mes s'il covint ke l'en freit eue beive
Un poi e petit e petit receive,
E le face issi cointement
Jeske passé seit le talent.

Ki mut eue beit en verité
E la seif en seit plus enoité,
La nervuse char k'en l'estomac a
Par passiun se estendera,
E la buche k'al estomac afiert
Desuz estoupé e constreint iert ;
E, pus ke l'estomac est si tendu,
La force dunc li est tolu
Ke n'a pas dunke le poer
L'eue as entrailles de geter,
E les veines del fai ke i sunt
L'eue entreire ne purrunt,
[4] Dunt la faie rien ne receit
Ke aide ou cumfort li serreit,
Einz remeint chaud veraiement
E d'autre eue ad le talent,
E tant come plus eue bevera
Tant plus l'estomac s'estendra.
Etendu ert en cel endroit
Jeske tant enmoli seit,
E quant sa molesce aura
L'estomac en bon point serra.

Beivre eue de nuit, devez saver,
Ne deit om mie, mes desporter.

E si aucun beit eue sovent
E apres plus en ad talent,
De beivre dunc se deit detenir
E la seif mut covient suffrir,
Kar ki ke ceo seit ke issi le fra
La seif, saciez, tost s'en irra.

Line 2108 *Avoid a surfeit.* 2128 *Of drinking.* 2129 *Drink only after the food has reached the stomach.* 2144 *No man should drink snow-water,* 2156 *except a hot-blooded man.* 2164 *Do not drink much water fasting, or after violent exercise.* 2172 *The danger of drinking too much water.* 2196 *If drinking aggravates thirst, endure your thirst, and it will pass.*

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[1] f. 194 r° a. [2] l. 2140, E] MS. en. [3] f. 194 r° b. [4] f. 194 v° a.

Home familus ki ke ceo seit
Vin ne beive, kar fere nel deit;
Ne apres bain, ne apres manger
Egre, ne apres trop travailler,
Ne apres ceo ke de viande seit
Ensaulé vin beivre ne deit
Jeske tant ke le manger receu
Seit en l'estomac bien descendu ;
[1] Ne apres yveresce ne glotonie
Vin a beivre ne fet mie.
Ne si ne deit de vin tant estre beu
Ke l'estomac seit grevé ou tendu,
Si issi ne seit k'aucun le voler
Apres le beivre ert sei mediciner.

Chescun eslire deit sanz fable
Le vin ke plus est profitable,
Kar mut i ad en veritez
En plusurs vins diversitez.
Ne si n'est a nule manere a user
A home suvent sei enyverer,
Kar mutes maladies suvent
Engendre yveresce veraiement ;
Mes ke une feiz ou dous le meinz beit
Tant k'enyveré apres en seit
Valer li peut veraiement,
Issi ke nel face trop suvent.

Chescun teu vin deit user
K'a sa nature puet profiter.

Une gent sunt, devez saver,
Ke sanz vin ne purrunt manger ;
E autre gent sunt sanz dutance
Ke de vin beivre unt grevance,
Es quels le manger od vin beu
Est en l'estomac corumpu,
[2] E repleciun fet e engrutement,
E fievres engendre ensement.

De cest treité plus ne trovai,
Mes plus i ad, tresbien le sai,
Kar devant en cest liveret
Tuche choses ke il premet
En meismes cest livre a treiter
Dunt rien ne poie apres trover.
Mes pus ke si est asez, suffit
Aparmemes ceo k'ai escrit
E del ensampleire translaté,
Kar ki ke veot en verité
Entendre le e ovrer apres
Prudume serra tenu ades,
Kar entendre puet e saver dreit
Coment en vertuz aver se deit,
E endreit sei meimes, saciez de fi,
Quant al cors e al alme[3] ausi.

A entendre fet tant nekedent
Ke nature se diverse de gent
Sulum costume e naciun
Diverse, e diverse conplexiun,
E divers liu e regiun ;
Dunt par iceste reisun
En diete deit om ceo garder
Tuei a ki dreit puet valer.
[4] Dunt medicine k'est ici tuchée
En chaude terres fu trovee,
Ne ne vaut pas a tuz generaument,
De diverses regiuns a gent,
Fors sulum mescine generale
Ke costume fet especiale ;
Kar costume en norissement
Mescine est a tute gent—
Si la custume male ne seit,
De la quele retreire [5] chescun se deit
Petit e petit, pur sei user
De bone custume purchacer.
E ke si garde sa nature
Ke male costume ne la pust nure ;
C'est ore generale reisun
Ke diete en chescun regiun.

Mes en chescune veirement
I ad grant difference de gent,
E les regiuns diverses sunt,
Pur ceo diverses costumes unt.

Ausi en une regiun
Diversent gent par complexiun
E par costumes ensement,
As quels diverse diete apent,
Pur ceo a chescun veirement
Medicine especiale apent.

[6] Pur ceo le di, nel voil celer,

Line 2202 *Of the times when wine-drinking is harmful.* 2216 *Choose a suitable wine.* 2220 *Do not get drunk often,* 2224 *but to do so once or twice is profitable.* 2230 *Some natures need wine,* 2232 *to others it is harmful.* 2237 *End of Treatise.* 2238 *A part of the treatise is evidently lost.* 2244 *But the teaching of the existing portion suffices for the good government of soul and body.* 2254 *Of the value of this treatise as regards the body.* 2262 *It deals with the needs of hot countries.* 2268 *The customs of particular countries must be considered,* 2282 *and of particular people.*

[1] f. 194 v° b. [2] f. 195 r° a. [3] l. 2253, alme] MS. alme alme.
[4] f. 195 r° b. l. 2271, retreire] the last *r* closely resembles a *t* in the MS.
[6] f. 195 v° a.

Kar ne fet pas trop a fier
En l'art de medicine avant nomee,
Fors en la terre ou fu trovee,
E ceo ke puet a tuz generaument
Profiter, sulum ceo ke apent
Par costume bone e par entempreure,
Ke trop ou tropoi ne pust nure,
E face apres le document
Aristotle sulum ceo k'apent
(Mes tute veis bon est e reisun
De fere le par discretiun),
Kar ne meffra pas legierement
Cil ke de sage cunseil enprent.

Endreit del alme devez saver
Ke crestien bien se puet sauver
S'il fet sulum le document
Des vertuz ke cest livre aprent.
Mes ceo ne vus dei jeo pas celer
K'a Giu n'a paien ne puet valer
Fors sulement a eschivre peine,
Mes en joie del ciel pas ne les mene
Pur ceo ke creance lur faut,
Esperance e charité ke tut vaut ;
Kar ki ke faut del fundement,
L'overe perit tut pleinement.
[1] Le fundement de nostre creance
E de tuz vertuz l'enseverance
Est Jhesu Crist le sauveur,
Le fiz Deu nostre creatur ;
Il est charité e nostre creance,
Il est del tut nostre esperance.
Les quatre vertuz d'enfermement,
Ke nomai au comencement,
E dunt est en [2] cest livre treitez,
Profitent s'il seient acoplez
A fei e esperance e cherité
Ke vertuz sunt de divinité.
Kar profiter ne purrunt autrement
D'aver la joie ke fin ne prent ;
Kar par bone e dreite creance
Avum de gloire esperance,
Mes n'est pas dreite creance numé,
Ne esperance, sanz charité ;
Ne charité n'est nule sanz creance
Ne l'un ne l'autre sanz esperance.
Kar issi sunt encheenez,
Si avez une, trestuz avez,
E si une des vertuz vus faut
L'afere des autres poi vus vaut.
Dunt l'en puet overes de pitié fere,
Mes poi amuntent sanz bien crere ;
[3] N'est pas numé charité,
Sanz creance, ovre de pité.

D'autre part si aucun creit
Sulum seinte eglise a dreit,
Ses ovres bones sunt sanz charité
S'il seit en mortel pecché ;
Mes nepurquant bon est de bien fere
Pur grace aver de pecché retreire.
Mes tant come home git en pecchee
Creance e esperance e charitee
E trestutes les autres vertuz
A sauver home sunt trestuz miz ;
Dunt meske paens bons seient en sei
Vertuz ne profitent pas sanz fei,
Fors sulement, en verité,
Ke [4] n'aurunt peine fors de oscurté.

Mes crestien ke gist en pecché,
Ke purreit, s'il vosist, estre sauvé
Par bons ovres e sa creance,
Si ne veut aver repentance
Cist ert en peine pleinement
E en oscurté sanz finement.

En un livre ke fes ai jad
De ceste matire treitié i ad,
E mut des choses, saciez, sanz fable,
K'al alme d'umme sunt profitable ;
[5] Le livre, en verité saciez,
'La Lumere as Lais' si est nomez.
Pur ceo n'en voil ore plus treiter,
Ne cest ne faz for pur adrecer
Cest livre, par dreit entendement
A acumplir le enseurement.
Kar ore pert, ceo semble, sanz respit,
Coment cest livre ad dreit profit
Par creance od l'enjustement
De esperance e charité ensement.

Mes ore priez, pur Deu amur,
En ceste fin pur le translatur
De cest livre, ke Piere ad nun,
K'estreit est de ces de Abernun,
Ke de bien fere doint sa grace ;
E a nus tuz issi le face,
Ke le regne pussum merir
Ke done a suens a sun pleisir.
Amen.

Line 2302 *Of the value of this treatise as regards the soul.* 2306 *To follow its teaching would not save an unbeliever.* 2320 *Of Faith, Hope, and Charity.* 2330 *They are inseparable.* 2342 *A Christian who sins is without Charity.* 2346 *But his creed and good works will help to raise him.* 2352 *Good works cannot save a heathen, but will lessen his pains.* 2356 *A Christian who persists in sin will be lost utterly.* 2362 *Of the 'Lumere as Lais'.* 2376 *Pray for Piere d'Abernun, who translated this book.*

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[1] f. 195 v° b. [2] l. 2322. est en] MS. en est. [3] f. 196 r° a. [4] l. 2355, Ke] MS. Ka. [5] f. 196 r° b.

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ERRATA

page 15, l. 24 *lege*	in celo
20, l. 36	(vel hominibus)
31, l. 16	eorum remediis
76, l. 20	Spring
87, l. 19	two mouthfuls
89, l. 27	scilicet exterius,
108, l. 1 marg.	t
160, l. 29	Et illud

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